THE COMMUNIST

Vol. XII DECEMBER, 1933 Copy H No. 12

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Recent Developments in the Trade Union Movement

By J. STACHEL

PART I. GROWTH OF THE STRIKE MOVEMENT

THE outstanding development in the labor movement of the last year is the growing strike movement. A million workers were involved in the strikes of the first ten months of this year. This is the largest figure since the days of 1919 and it surpasses the strike movement during the 1921-1922 period. The capitalists of this country and their labor lieutenants, the Greens and the Wolls, had for many years pointed with a bourgeois pride to the "good relations" between capital and labor. The decline in the strike movement had been true not only of the period since the beginning of the present economic crisis; it had already set in with the so-called boom period. It was, of course, the result of the treacherous class-collaboration policy carried on by the A. F. of L. leaders—the counterpart of the open shop and union-smashing drive carried out by the most powerful capitalists.

STRIKES BEFORE 1933

Immediately following the setting in of the present economic crisis the A. F. of L. leaders entered into a pact with the employers to prevent strikes. This, as we recall, was the infamous Hoover-Green agreement. The masses were told that this agreement would mean that the employers would refrain from cutting wages while the A. F. of L. leaders would restrain the workers from fighting for wage increases while the crisis lasted. We know what happened. Wages were forced downward in all industries. But the Greens and Wolls, the Hillmans and Lewises did everything possible to disrupt the struggles of the workers where they arose over their heads, and to prevent them where possible. Most of the strikes during the first years of the crisis were either spontaneous strikes of unorganized workers, strikes led by the unions of the Trade Union Unity League or strikes of the rank and file of the A. F. of L. carried out despite the sabotage and treachery of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. But in 1931 the strike movement began to rise. It was the unions affiliated to, or working closely with, the T.U.U.L.

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that organized and led the first important strikes during this period. The most important of these strikes were those of the textile workers of Lawrence and of the miners in Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia, in 1931; and in Kentucky in January, 1932. In the year 1932 we saw the beginnings of a whole series of strikes of the A. F. of L. workers, sometimes openly over the heads of the official leadership (anthracite miners, etc.), and often with the "sanction" of the A. F. of L. leaders (building trades, needle workers), who, faced with the growing revolt of the membership, headed these strikes in order to behead them. For the most part the strikes during this period were limited to four industries: mining, textile, needle and building. In the beginning of 1933 we witnessed the first important strikes in the basic trustified industries, especially the automobile strikes in Detroit organized and led by the Auto Workers Union. Again, in April of this year, the National Miners Union, through the application of the policy of the united front, was able to lead close to 20,000 miners in strike in Pennsylvania and Ohio.

It was just at this time, the winter of 1933, that we witnessed the driving down of production to the lowest level, that we saw the great bank crashes and the financial crisis. At the same time the non-proletarian masses, the farmers, the veterans, were being drawn into the struggle against the increased lowering of their living standards. The struggles of the unemployed have reached a new high stage under the leadership of the Unemployed Councils, which carried through the historic national hunger march to Washington with the opening of the lame duck Congress.

THE GROWING STRIKE MOVEMENT PRECEDING N.R.A.

It was this situation that Roosevelt faced when he took power. The first acts of the Roosevelt government resulted in a growing mood for struggle among the masses. Small depositors were robbed of their savings through the closing of the banks. New attacks were made upon the disabled veterans. The wages of the government employees were cut in the interests of the bankers' economy drive. The masses were entering the struggle more and more, and the Left wing unions steadily placed themselves at the head of the struggles of the masses. By April we witnessed a growing development of the strike movement. The increase in production from the lowest point reached in March, resulting from delayed production and buying due to the banking holiday, and above all because of speculative production parallel to the development and expectations of the Roosevelt inflation policy, helped to increase the strike struggles. The masses demanded higher wages to meet the rising prices. The masses of workers felt that with the increased production they could

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take advantage and try to regain some of the wages they had lost during the previous four years. As a result, numerous strikes took place in many industries. The employers, sensing the danger, tried to arrest the strike movement through small wage increases which they gave "voluntarily," in order to avoid strikes. But this only had the opposite effect. The workers' struggles increased.

ENTER THE N.R.A.

It was at this time that the N.R.A. was brought forward. It promised the workers three things: Employment, higher wages, and the right to organize. It set out to fix minimum wages for all industries. It was heralded by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and the Socialists as a "new charter of freedom" for labor. In reality it was meant to stop the growing struggles of the workers, which were forcing the employers to grant higher wages. In reality it was aimed at arresting the swing of the masses to the Left, to undermine the T.U.U.L. unions and other fighting independent unions, and to make it possible for the A. F. of L. bureaucrats to direct the mass revolt of the workers into harmless channels. The N.R.A. sought to make it possible for the A. F. of L. to fool the workers with collective bargaining concessions in which the Greens and Lewises might barter away the interests of the workers as they had done before. To stop the strike movement—this was uppermost in the minds of the capitalists, the Roosevelt government, and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats.

N.R.A. HAS NOT STOPPED STRIKES.

But the result was just the opposite. The strike movement now took on more and more of a mass character. The very illusions regarding the N.R.A. that the government tried to create among the masses themselves helped to spread the strike movement. Workers who believed that the N.R.A. was meant to give them higher wages struck for these higher wages when they were not immediately forthcoming. The workers who were organized into the A. F. of L. unions in order to prevent them from striking used their strength of organization to fight for improved conditions. While the A. F. of L. bureaucrats were sitting in the conferences with the government and the employers and deciding how to fool the workers, the workers voted to strike. The very discussions for the working out of the codes for the various industries became the means to stimulate the struggles of the workers. The workers struck because there was the delay in working out the codes for their industries. Later the workers struck because they were dissatisfied with the codes worked out for their industries.

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STRIKES AGAINST THE N.R.A.

The growth of the strike movement was in itself one of the weapons that gave heavy blows to the N.R.A. aims of the capitalists. It exposed the N.R.A. as the strikebreaking machinery of the capitalists. More and more the strikes assumed the character of strikes against the N.R.A. To mention just a few of such strikes: The miners first fought to force the code for the industry, but later they struck again in even larger numbers because they did not wish to accept the code worked out by the operators, the government and the Lewises. The silk workers struck when Roosevelt decided that they should work under the cotton code, which laid down as the minimum wage $13 a week. There were countless strikes of a similar character. Only recently the auto workers struck against the provisions of the auto code. All these strikes, and the actions of the government, resulted in baring to the workers the true character of the N.R.A. They saw in it an attempt to force them to accept lower wages as the minimum set tended to become the maximum. They saw in it a new lowering of their living standards under the guise of increasing their purchasing power. This feeling was further accentuated as the prices continued to mount.

THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

The N.R.A. provision which claimed to give the workers the right to organize was also rapidly exposed. The big trusts continued to stand on the open shop policy. The government for a while tried to fool the workers with meaningless phrases but soon came out in the open. The auto code was the most brazen expression of the open shop. Similar provisions of open shop were made in other codes. The climax came when the steel trust flatly refused to give recognition to the U.M.W.A., despite the fact that the miners were solidly on strike for recognition. The N.R.A. exposed itself especially in its refusal to recognize the right of the workers to join a union of their own choice. The T.U.U.L. unions and numerous independent unions were refused recognition even though they had the support of large masses of workers who demanded recognition of their chosen organizations. The Roosevelt government, with even greater brutality than the Hoover government, used violence against the workers. But to mention Tampa, Gallup (New Mexico), Utah and Ambridge is sufficient to indicate the growing terror used against the workers. Nor was this terror limited to workers who organized into unions of the T.U.U.L. The steel workers of Weirton, fighting under the leadership of the A. F. of L., were treated to the same terror. The employers had made

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up their minds to crush the struggles of the workers, and their government was carrying through the policy dictated by them.

THE ROLE OF THE A. F. OF L. BUREAUCRATS

The A. F. of L. bureaucrats—the Greens, Wolls, Hillmans (Hillman affiliated his organization to the A. F. of L. without even consulting the membership)—at every stage of the struggle proved their loyalty to the capitalists and their treachery to the workers. They tried to prevent the strikes. For a short period they even posed as the "leaders" of the strikes when this was necessary in order to fool the masses. They sat on the N.R.A. boards and approved the open shop provisions of the various codes. They carried out the dictates of Roosevelt in trying to smash the strikes of the workers. Lewis ordered the workers back to work even though they were fighting for the recognition of the U.M.W.A. McMahon and Schweitzer in Paterson ordered the workers back to work at the behest of the N.R.A. officials. When the workers refused to go back the Schweitzers "accepted" the verdict of the workers for fear of the National Textile Workers Union. As the government went over from demagogy alone to demagogy and terror, the labor bureaucrats, too, went over to more open strikebreaking. An especially treacherous role was played by the Lovestone renegades. They became everywhere the open allies of the bureaucrats, in no way distinguishable from the McMahons (Keller) and Dubinskys (Zimmerman). They sang praises to the "good sides" of the N.R.A. like the Socialists. They ordered the workers back to work like the McMahons (Keller), they joined with the bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. in giving honor to the N.R.A. strikebreakers (Zimmerman and Whalen at the Armory meeting).

WHO LED STRIKES?

It is of course of the greatest importance for us to determine the role of the various labor organizations in this broad strike movement. It must be stated that the activity of the masses, their mood for struggles, was far greater than that expressed in the strike of some million workers. Taking into account the various objective factors, the treacherous role of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats and the weakness, in some cases even inactivity, of the T.U.U.L. unions, it can be stated that, had we been prepared for the developments, the response of the masses would have been many times as great as it was.

We turn now to the question as to who led the strikes.

According to the estimates available to us, of the million workers involved in strikes about 450,000 struck under the banner of the

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A. F. of L. This includes, of course, a large portion of workers who did not join the A. F. of L. Of the 450,000, perhaps the majority, though fighting under the banner of the A. F. of L., fought despite the leadership of the A. F. of L. that tried to prevent the strikes. The industries mostly involved in the leadership of the A. F. of L. unions were mining, needle, textile, metal and steel, building, trucking, and numerous smaller industries. Some 200,000 workers struck under the leadership of the T.U.U.L. unions. This number includes miners, textile workers, auto workers, agricultural workers, shoe workers, needle workers, steel and metal workers, and workers in numerous other industries. About 175,000 workers fought under the leadership of various independent unions affiliated neither with the A. F. of L. nor with the T.U.U.L. These strikes were principally in the mining, textile, shoe, and auto industries. The remainder of the workers had no affiliation. Thus, without going into a further detailed analysis of the strike movement, we can see that, although the government did everything possible to push forward the A. F. of L., the number of workers involved in the strikes of the T.U.U.L. and independent unions was almost equal to the number involved in the A. F. of L. strikes. While it is true that during the months from July to September the proportion of the A. F. of L. strikes was much greater than for the year as a whole, this is offset by the fact that in the last weeks, as in the first weeks of the year, the T.U.U.L. and independent unions led proportionately more strikes than did the A. F. of L. Thus, for example, for the months of September and October, of a total of some 350,000 workers on strike, 150,000 were led by the A. F. of L., 75,000 by the T.U.U.L. unions, and 50,000 by independent unions. These figures indicate that the workers are not going only to the A. F. of L. unions, although the growth of the A. F. of L. unions cannot be questioned. They show that the T.U.U.L. unions are attracting increasing sections of workers. They further show that there are increasing sections of workers who, although not willing to join the T.U.U.L. unions for some reason or other, including both the fear of "reds" and especially the mistakes and weaknesses of the T.U.U.L. unions, are entering or building independent unions. This latter question is one that deserves and will receive increasing attention from our movement.

THE STRIKE MOVEMENT TODAY

Despite the government terror and treachery of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, despite the use of the N.R.A. and its compulsary arbitration and no-strike edicts, the strike movement continues. True, there have been certain temporary set-backs. But this is only a

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reorganization of the forces of the working class for the continuation of the struggle under more difficult conditions. The coming struggles will be on a higher plane, even more political in character than the strikes until now. They will be carried on more than previously by the workers and their Left-wing unions and oppositions in the reformist unions over the heads of the labor bureaucrats. In the first wave of strikes the workers wrested many concessions from the employers. Then came the N.R.A. Despite the N.R.A. the capitalists were compelled to make some concessions to the workers where they had militant leadership. The recent strikes ended with only a partial victory, or even in defeat, as far as the immediate economic demands were concerned. But the workers do not feel defeated. They have learned much as a result of these struggles. They will be better prepared in the future. Already, even without a pause in the strike movement, we find that new workers are entering the strikes. Witness the growing strikes in the packing industry, the strike of the shipyard workers, the strike of the anthracite miners in the last days. The N.R.A. has not solved a single problem for the workers. The N.R.A. is now more exposed than ever as a strikebreaking instrument of the employers and their government in alliance with the labor bureaucrats. The workers, faced with terror, treachery, and the rapid drop in production and new mass layoffs, are only reforming their battle line. The struggle will go on and the strike movement will grow under the new conditions into major class battles.

PART II. THE GROWTH OF THE TRADE UNIONS

The second outstanding development of the recent period is the growth of the membership in the trade unions. In this connection, while the outstanding feature is the growth of the A. F. of L. unions, it is of more than passing importance that, simultaneously with this growth of the A. F. of L., there has been a growth of the unions of the T.U.U.L. and of the various independent unions. As to the total number that have joined the unions, no accurate information is available. We can only give estimates. As regards the A. F. of L., its unions had continued to decline in the last years. This decline had set in during the so-called boom days. It was the first time in the history of the labor movement of this country that the A. F. of L. unions did not grow during such a period. It was therefore no great surprise that the A. F. of L. membership continued to decline after the beginning of the economic crisis. As before, the decline was caused partly by expulsions of the more radicalized and militant workers, by the betrayal of

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the workers' struggles. But in addition to this, hundreds of thousands of unemployed were dropped from the union rolls for non-payment of dues. Even at the last A. F. of L. convention the dues payment figures were less by a few hundred thousand than the previous year, despite the great increase in membership. This was without doubt due to the fact that many of the new members either had not yet paid their dues by that time or that their per capita payments had not yet been transmitted by the various internationals to the A. F. of L. Council. The fact, nonetheless, that the A. F. of L. after these years of decline in membership could make great headway in recruiting new members is of the greatest importance to our future work. It is, however, not to our interest to exaggerate any more than to underestimate the growth of the A. F. of L. unions.

GROWTH OF A. F. OF L. UNIONS

What are the claims of the A. F. of L. leaders as to the growth in membership? Their estimates have varied at different times between a million, half a million and one million three hundred thousand. Why these variations? The first figure was a general figure given out from time to time. It was the accepted figure in the capitalist press almost until the convention of the A. F. of L. Then the A. F. of L. Council, meeting in its last session to prepare the convention, released the figure of 500,000 new members. Why? Because there were some internal differences among the top bureaucrats that had to be decided by votes at the convention. It was also a question of prestige at the convention for the various leaders. They therefore scrutinized each other's figures. The result was the announcement of half a million new members. But at the convention, for some reason, the figure of 1,300,000 was arrived at. It is interesting to note that the convention was not told in what industries and unions these gains had been made. Our own estimates based on reports from the various centers, and a check on the figures of the A. F. of L. leaders, would lead us to believe that the figure of 500,000 is nearer the truth.

GAINS IN IMPORTANT INDUSTRIES

In what industries did the A. F. of L. gain this new membership? Primarily in three industries: mining, textile and needle. The gains in the needle industry have been the greatest; in mining, second, and in the textile industry, third. However, we must also bear in mind that of the remainder some 100,000 workers were recruited in the more important and basic industries, including steel, metal, automobile, rubber, and packing. These workers were

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for the most part organized into the so-called federal unions—that is, local unions directly under the supervision of the A. F. of L. Council. These federal unions took in all the workers in the shop or plant, thus organizing the workers on an industrial basis.

GROWING IMPORTANCE OF OUR WORK IN A. F. OF L. UNIONS

This growth of the A. F. of L., especially the inclusion of hundreds of thousands of workers in basic industries, requires today more than ever that we give the greatest attention to the work within the A. F. of L. unions. If we have criticized our work in the past as deficient, then not to lay the greatest stress today on working within the A. F. of L. would be most criminal. Furthermore, we must bear in mind that while we carried on work in a number of A. F. of L. unions, most of our organized work was limited to the building and the needle trades. Now, without giving up our efforts to win the workers in the building trades, we must lay the greatest stress on work among the miners, the textile workers, among the organized railroad workers and longshoremen where our work has always been weakest, and especially among the newly organized federal locals of the steel, auto, packing, and similar groups of workers. We must stop saying that our main task is to build the red unions and then add "and also work in the A. F. of L." We do not have to reverse the formula. What we need is to build the red unions wherever we can and better than until now, but at the same time work among the A. F. of L. workers wherever they are organized. There can be and should be no division of these tasks as to rank or importance. Our task is to organize the workers and lead them in struggle, revolutionize them in the course of these struggles.

THE WHOLE PARTY MUST TAKE UP THE TASK

For most of our districts this means very much. In very few districts have we taken up work in the A. F. of L. seriously. And today we are faced, not only with the duty, but with an opportunity greater than ever. Already thousands of our Party members are in the A. F. of L. In the New York District, for example, we find that some 1,200 Party members are in the A. F. of L. unions; in the Chicago District, some 350 members, and so on along the line. In the Pittsburgh District all our comrades in the mining industry either are or should be in the U.M.W.A. Work among the A. F. of L. workers can not be relegated to some few "specialists." It must become a central task of the Party as a whole and of all leading committees and Party organizations. Without winning these millions of organized workers it is idle to talk

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of revolutionizing the masses, of winning the majority of the working class for the revolutionary program and aims of the Party.

THE GROWTH OF T.U.U.L. UNIONS

However, this does not mean that we stop building the T.U.U.L. unions. There are some even in our ranks who call for the liquidation of the T.U.U.L. unions. The renegades, of course, are today the loudest in the call for the liquidation of the red unions. They tell us that the A. F. of L. is organizing everybody and that there is no room for any labor movement outside the A. F. of L. In this they are merely repeating the statement of William Green, who made it, not for the sake of history, but as a challenge and a threat to be backed up by the brutal force of the government, which is trying to destroy every independent fighting organization. What are the facts? Has only the A. F. of L. grown? Close to 100,000 workers have joined the T.U.U.L. unions in the past six months. True, we have lost some of these new recruits, either because of defeated strikes, terror, or mostly through our inability to assimilate new members because our T.U.U.L. unions have not yet learned how to defend the interests of the workers after strikes, because they have not yet learned how to develop a real inner life and democracy, and also because we have been slow in building our Party among these newly recruited workers, to educate and train cadres of Party and non-Party workers. But the fact alone that 100,000 workers *did* join our unions is of the greatest significance both for our immediate tasks and for our perspectives. We should especially note that, aside from strengthening some of the unions in the lighter industries, we have been able to build up some extensive membership in such industries as steel and metal, packing, and agriculture. It is also true that we have received a set-back in the mining industry and in other industries as regards building the T.U.U.L. unions, so that our main work in these industries takes on for the moment mostly the form of a revolutionary opposition. This is the unequal development that has taken place, but it does not diminish the importance of the fact that 100,000 workers joined the T.U.U.L. unions. Taken together with our past membership of some 35,000, despite the losses in some of the new sections (steel, textile), as well as in some of the old (mining, auto), our present membership still remains around 100,000, for the first time since the organization of the Trade Union Unity League. Especially is it possible for us to strengthen and build the T.U.U.L. unions in the steel, auto, packing, marine, agriculture, lumber, and other industries, not to speak of the lighter industries where we have made headway, as, for example, among the shoe workers, needle workers, and furniture workers. Simultaneously with the increase and re-

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orientation of our work within the A. F. of L. unions, we must strengthen and increase the work of building the revolutionary trade unions. Both of these tasks constitute one central task in the work of building the revolutionary trade union movement.

ON JOINING A. F. OF L. UNIONS

Basing ourselves on the fundamental line of the independent leadership in the struggles of the workers, we apply the tactic of building red unions or building oppositions in the reformist unions, as the immediate situation requires at a given moment in a given industry, or at a different moment in the same industry. Certainly, while recognizing the possibility of even calling upon the workers to join this or that A. F. of L. union, we cannot, as the Left reformist Musteites advocate, issue the slogan to all workers to join the A. F. of L. At the same time it is necessary to state that we must, within the A. F. of L. unions, recognize that only by putting forward our slogans, our methods of fighting to defend the interests of the workers by organizing the rank and file, will we win the support of the masses. By negative criticism alone we shall not succeed. Our criticism is the criticism of struggle for the workers' interests and the exposure of the bureaucrats in the course of these struggles as the agents of the employers in the workers' ranks.

GROWTH OF "INDEPENDENT" UNIONS

But apart from the growth of the T.U.U.L. unions side by side with the A. F. of L. unions, there is another important development to which in the past we have not given due attention. This is the growth of independent unions outside the A. F. of L. and T.U.U.L. We have mentioned in the sections dealing with strikes the extent of the strike leadership under such independent unions. Now as to the growth of such unions. Aside from the railroad organizations outside the A. F. of L. (Brotherhoods) and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which just affiliated with the A. F. of L., there are some 150,000 workers who in the course of the last year and a half organized into independent unions. The greatest number have organized only recently. These unions are to be found in the mining industry (Illinois and anthracite) as split-offs from the U.M.W.A., among the New England shoe workers, in the textile industry, in the auto industry, postal workers, food, packing, metal, and workers in many other industries. Side by side with the 500,000 who joined the A. F. of L. in the period since the N.R.A. came into being, some 200,000 workers have become organized outside the A. F. of L. into the T.U.U.L. and independent unions.

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When we take into account the support that the A. F. of L. has received from a section of the employers, from the government, and the apparatus of the A. F. of L. (some 30,000 paid functionaries), from the A. F. of L. tradition, we must place great weight upon this figure of 200,000 who joined unions outside the A. F. of L. This is one phase of the question regarding the independent unions.

TYPES OF INDEPENDENT UNIONS

But more important than this phase of the growth of unions outside the A. F. of L., is the fact itself of the growth of independent unions. This shows that there are workers who, though unwilling to join the A. F. of L., are either still unwilling to join, or have not been reached by, the T.U.U.L. unions. Let us define the various types of independent unions. For our present purposes we can put them into three main categories: First, the reformist controlled type that differs little from the A. F. of L. unions. To this type belongs the Progressive Miners in Illinois. Of course, this classification must take into account the fact that these workers wished to fight against Lewis. They were diverted from the path of the struggles against Lewis by the reformist leaders who organized a new reformist union for the purpose of keeping the miners chained to reformist policies and block them from building a real class-struggle union. Then there is the type that is only a step above the company union. This type is usually limited to one plant and is controlled by the employers' direct agents. Such unions formed in unorganized shops have as their main purpose to stop the workers from organizing themselves and becoming part of the organized labor movement. Then there is the third type of independent union —a union based on the class struggle, usually with workers that, while unwilling to join the A. F. of L., are not ready to become part of the T.U.U.L. Such unions have been built with our participation and leadership in Allentown among the textile workers, and in other industries in many parts of the country. If we recognize the tendency for such independent unions among the workers and analyze the causes for it, we are enabled to see the possibility of greatly stimulating the organization of the workers into class-struggle unions, even though they may not immediately be connected with the T.U.U.L. If we had had such a correct understanding of the development of events we could have taken the initiative in many of the industries where reformist independent unions were formed and could have helped these workers to organize militant class-struggle independent unions. Because we did not, it was possible for the "Left" reformists to mislead the workers.

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WORK IN INDEPENDENT UNIONS

Such class-struggle independent unions, of course, can not be something in between a revolutionary and reformist policy. They must be based squarely on the policy of the class struggle if they are to serve the interests of the workers. Nor does it mean that we must everywhere go out and organize such unions. We must of course fight for the T.U.U.L. program and for T.U.U.L. affiliation, and only when this is impossible to achieve shall we take the initiative in helping to organize independent unions. There can be no set formula laid down on how to act under each given situation. Each must be judged on its own merits. But this can be said: If our T.U.U.L. unions improve their work and broaden their base, if they develop a real inner life and democracy and overcome much of the phrase-mongering, if they really become what they were intended to be—mass trade unions and not duplicates of the Communist Party, then there will be every possibility to draw the masses directly into the T.U.U.L. unions. Many of our unions have made such improvements in their work, with the result that they have been able to recruit large masses, and to prevent the rise of such independent unions. Our perspective cannot be for the co-existence for any length of time of three trade union centers, but rather the broadening out of the T.U.U.L. into a real trade union center. This is our goal to be achieved by the time of the next T.U.U.L. convention, which will be held shortly. In the meantime, we must work in the independent unions and try to win them for our program. We can foresee that such independent unions will continue to exist even for a longer period. We must build our oppositions in these unions just as we do in the other reformist controlled unions. In those independent unions that base themselves on the class struggle we must build, not oppositions, but only the Communist fractions, just as we do in the T.U.U.L. unions.

Our perspective is for increasing strike struggles. We must see to it that we are better prepared than we are now. We must undertake the most active and systematic work in the A. F. of L., where the possibilities are greater than ever. We can and should strengthen and build the T.U.U.L. unions, especially in the basic industries. We must give real serious attention to the independent unions and adopt a flexible policy toward the building of such unions. There are such possibilities in the immediate future among the silk workers. Other situations may arise as the struggles develop and the strike-breaking activities of the A. F. of L. leadership lead to mass expulsions and betrayals against which the workers must be warned

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and prepared. All this will lead to a powerful revolutionary trade union movement led by the Communists.

BUILDING THE PARTY

To make headway toward this goal of building a powerful revolutionary trade union movement, to extend and deepen the rising economic struggles of the workers, really to revolutionize the masses, the active role of the Party must be increased. In the first place, it is necessary that all Party members be won for the trade unions. Even in a district like Chicago, where we have been doing some good work, we find that less than 25 percent of the membership of the Party is in the trade unions. In the Detroit District less than 100 Party members out of some 700 in the city of Detroit belong to the auto unions. This must be changed. It cannot be changed merely through some more decisions. We must win the membership to the unions. We must discuss the questions in the nuclei. We must really mobilize the membership politically for carrying through the Open Letter of the Party. Next, it is necessary to build the fractions of the Party in the trade unions, and help them to carry on their work so that they do not degenerate into taking up merely those questions that can rightfully be taken up at the union meetings. They must become real Communist fractions, leading the masses, developing them towards Communism. Finally, it is necessary to undertake a serious campaign to strengthen the Party among the masses in the basic industries, among the A. F. of L. workers, in the independent unions, and among the newly recruited workers in the T.U.U.L. unions. Among the 100,000 workers who joined the T.U.U.L. unions no more than one percent were recruited into the Party. Thousands can be recruited, and, unless we do recruit them, experience has shown the unions will not maintain their gains, will not improve and extend their work among the masses.

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The Communist Manifesto — A Programmatic Document of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

By O. KUUSINEN

THE *Communist Manifesto* is the great charter of the international Communist movement.

Eighty-five years ago the *Communist Manifesto* enunciated for the first time in the form of a complete theoretical and practical program, the Marxian world outlook—dialectic materialism, the teaching on the class struggle, on the world-wide historical role of the proletariat and of its Communist vanguard. It pointed the way to the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and the transition from capitalism to a Communist society. It charted the basic programmatic demands and the main lines of strategy and tactics of the Communist Party.

This was a mighty revolutionary call to struggle, which has lost none of its compelling revolutionary force even today. Millions of workers of all countries derived from this *Manifesto* the very force which awakened in them the revolutionary class consciousness. New millions will read it and study it in order that they may unite, pursuant to its call, for revolutionary class struggle. History from the time of the appearance of the *Communist Manifesto* has brilliantly confirmed the firm theses of Marx. And even now this *Manifesto* stands immutably, like an unfailing beacon, as a living, and in its main lines actual, program of the international Communist movement. *Its historical sequel is the program of the Communist International.*

THE BIRTH OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM

Wherein lies the inexhaustible revolutionary strength of the *Communist Manifesto?*

We quote from the *Manifesto* itself:

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* Translated from *The Bolshevik* (Politico-Economic Fortnightly Organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), Issue No. 6 of March 31st, 1933.

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> "The theories of the Communists are not in any way based upon ideas or principles discovered or established by this or that universal reformer.
>
> "They serve merely to express in general terms the concrete circumstances of an actually existing class struggle, of a historical movement that is going on under our very eyes. The abolition of pre-existent property relations is not a process exclusively characteristic of Communism."

We quote further:

> "It is customary to speak of ideas which revolutionize a whole society. This is only another way of saying that the elements of a new society have formed within the old one; that the break-up of the old ideas has kept pace with the break-up of the old social relations."

These words reveal the secret of the birth and vitality of the *Communist Manifesto* itself. The teaching of Marx, already revealed in the *Manifesto* in its main lines, was itself a product of the antagonistic productive relations of capitalist society; was a realization of the position of the proletariat and its historic mission and "a general expression of actual relations within the existing class struggle".

The flaming words of each and every line of the *Communist Manifesto* clearly indicate that the system of ideas contained in the *Manifesto* was born in the fire of revolutionary struggle. It was growing up, in the first place, in the incandescent atmosphere of the European revolutionary class battles of the forties of last century and, in the second place, directly out of the ideological and practical struggle which Marx and Engels led in the years 1843-1847.

In their ideological struggle Marx and Engels based themselves on the best that the nineteenth century had created. As Lenin and Engels pointed out, the three sources and component parts of Marxism were: classical German philosophy, classical English political economy, and French socialism along with the French revolutionary teachings in general.

The greatest exponents of these three ideological currents were Hegel, Ricardo and the great Utopians. In his own realm each of them built up a complete theoretical system, which was not capable of further development along the lines of its original basic principles. Meanwhile Marx actually continued, completed and merged into one solid system these ideological currents. That was possible only by means of a critical recreation of their underlying principles. Marx carried further Hegel's dialectics, first having turned it upside down, that is, formulating the dialectic development of material

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reality in place of the eternal self-propulsion of a mystical "idea". Marx carried further Adam Smith's and Ricardo's theory of value, revealing at the same time the fetishism of economic categories, and thus bringing them down from the realm of "eternal laws of nature", as they were pictured by the bourgeois economists, to a mere expression of social production relations, which are historically conditioned and transitory. In the same manner Marx carried further the socialism of St. Simon, Fourier, and Robert Owen, first taking it down from the sphere of utopian ideas and "brain product" projects of a new society, to the solid ground of historic reality as an expression and program of the class struggle of the proletariat.

Thus were demolished the "eternal ideas" of all these three basic domains of ideology, behind which were incarcerated as behind bars, the living elements of a new world outlook.

Along with this struggle it was necessary to carry on *another* ideological struggle in all the three domains. That was a "criticism of criticism", *i.e.*, in the first place a criticism of the left Hegelians, who were the critics of Hegel, such as Bruno Bauer, Max Stirner, etc., and also a criticism of the major shortcomings of Feuerbachian materialism; in the second place it was a criticism of the petty bourgeois critics of classic political economy, of the economic theories of Proudhon, Sismondi, and others; and in the third place it was a criticism of the petty socialist critics of the great Utopians, the English and the German ("true") socialists.

Only now are we in a position to restore the full picture of that fierce ideological struggle, which Marx and Engels waged during the decisive period of the formation of the Marxian system. This became possible after such precious manuscripts as the *Philosophical Economic Essays* by Marx and the full edition of the *German Ideology* by Marx and Engels, hitherto concealed by the leaders of the German Social-Democracy, became public property once again.

What were the results of the ideological struggle of Marx and Engels?

The Marxian critique of philosophy and of historiography gave rise to *dialectical materialism* and particularly to the materialist conception of the history of mankind.

The critique of political economy gave rise to the *Marxian theory of surplus value* and to all the ensuing laws of the development of contradictions within capitalism and of its resulting breakdown. All these laws are treated systematically and in detail in *Capital*.

The critique of Utopian socialism gave rise to *Marxian Communism*, which firmly links up the scientific conception of the dialectic transition from capitalism to socialism and Communism with

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the class struggle and with the consequent revolutionary practice of "changing the face of the world". From Utopian socialism there emerged Marxian Communism, which changes science into revolutionary politics, and that politics into science.

Lenin, who understood the theory of Marx more deeply than any one else, emphasized with particular vigor that that theory combines strict scientific properties of the highest type (it being the culmination of social science) with revolutionary properties; that their synthesis is not accidental; that it is not a result of the author's combining in his personality the qualities of a scientist and a revolutionary; but that this synthesis is contained within the theory innately and indivisibly.

In a concise form the *Communist Manifesto* dwells upon many vast domains of the teachings of Marx. First of all the *Manifesto* affords a brilliantly clear understanding of the materialistic conception of history. The entire history of mankind from the inception of class society till the appearance of the socialist society unfolds before the reader from a uniform scientific point of view, as a history of the struggle of classes which develops on the basis of changing modes of production and of inner contradictions inherent in the production relations which are based on exploitation.

Two important component parts of the Marxian teachings find little expression in the *Communist Manifesto*:

First—his philosophical theory of cognition (gnoseology). Of course, the materialistic-philosophical conception of the sources and principles of knowledge forms the very base of all the theses of the *Manifesto*, but that conception is not treated in the *Manifesto* in a direct manner. It is formulated in part in the earlier philosophical works of Marx and Engels (*The Holy Family*, *The German Ideology*) partly in the later works of Engels (*Anti-Duehring*, *The Dialectics of Nature*, and *Ludwig Feuerbach*) and also in Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*.

Second—the mature form of the Marxian theory of *surplus value* is not yet contained in the *Communist Manifesto*. However, the most important postulates which he used in subsequently developing his theory of surplus value are already to be found in there. They are:

1. That the capitalist system is a system of wage slavery; the workers "are the slaves of the bourgeois class", "who can exist only as long as they find work, and who can find work only as long as their labor increases capital".

2. ". . . These laborers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce . . ." is stated in the *Communist Manifesto*. According to a later formulation of

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Marx, workers sell their labor power as a commodity, but it also means that they sell "their own skin". For the commodity labor power exists only "in the person of the laborer", "only as the faculty of a living individual" (*Capital*).

3. According to the *Communist Manifesto* "the cost of production of a worker amounts to little more than the cost of the means of subsistence he requires for his upkeep and for the propagation of his race".

4. The situation of the workers under capitalism is becoming increasingly worse, as the productivity of their labor increases; this worsening manifests itself partly in a lowered wage or a lengthened working day, partly in an increased intensification of labor, oppression at work, etc.

Marx, it is true, still employs in the *Communist Manifesto* the old and incorrect term, "the price of labor" (in place of, "value and price of labor power") not at all, however, in the bourgeois meaning, according to which the term implies that the worker receives full payment (is fully compensated) for the labor he performs. No, according to the *Communist Manifesto*, the workers selling themselves piecemeal, get in the form of wages much less than the sum total of values which their labor creates. The growth of capital is accomplished in no other way than by *exploitation*. But the *Manifesto* does not contain the clear explanation, subsequently developed by Marx, of this exploitation, by way of distinction between "necessary labor" and "surplus labor" (or "unpaid labor"), which creates surplus value. Only these theoretically highly important definitions made possible a clear and consistent analysis of the capitalist process of production, but they changed in no way the basic conception formulated in the *Communist Manifesto*. On the contrary, that conception was only strengthened and deepened in all its essential parts.

Afterwards, in a number of other basic questions, Marx fundamentally completed and developed the theses expounded in the *Communist Manifesto*, particularly the problem of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*. Aside from that, the remarks contained in Section IV of the *Communist Manifesto* about the position of the Communists in relation to the various existing opposition parties, as it was pointed out by Marx and Engels themselves already in 1872, are, of course, historically antiquated in their concrete form, although "fundamentally they are correct to this day".

The subsequent development of the ideas proclaimed for the first time in the *Communist Manifesto* and the evolution of Marxism into *Marxism-Leninism* cannot be understood without taking into consideration the basic character of the new epoch in particular

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and especially the greatest triumph of these ideas: their *accomplishment* in practice, the building of socialism on one-sixth of the face of the earth.

A new edition of the *Communist Manifesto* entitles the reader to expect at least a most elementary characterization of the main phases of this development and of the actual realization of Marxism in our own time. Therefore, we will discuss the matter briefly in the following lines, starting with the basic postulates of the *Communist Manifesto* and, alongside with it, subjecting to a critical analysis the main principles of social-democracy.

THE EPOCH OF IMPERIALISM AND THE BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE OF BOLSHEVISM AGAINST THE OPPORTUNISM OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

The *Communist Manifesto* states that "the bourgeoisie has centralized the means of production and has concentrated property in few hands". However, this capitalist centralization and concentration, as well as the "constant changes of modes of production" were destined to attain truly gigantic proportions. Subsequently Marx gave in his main work a thorough analysis of the accumulation of capital and of the general law governing the same.

But neither Marx nor Engels lived to the time of the last phase of capitalism, during which the concentration of production and the centralization of capital assumed the form of cartels and of trustification of entire major branches of production; when the sway of free competition and of industrial capital turned into the *domination of the monopolistic finance capital,* which domination, however, is unable to eliminate free competition.

In the past, according to the *Communist Manifesto,* "the cheap prices of commodities were the heavy artillery with which the bourgeoisie battered down all Chinese walls". At present, however, *monopoly prices* are becoming the heavy artillery of the large scale bourgeoisie in its fight for surplus value the world over.

In the past "the need of a constantly expanding market for its products drove the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe". At present the decisive role in this chase is relegated to finance capital. There has begun the division of the world among the international trusts into spheres of influence.

While in the past the bourgeoisie of the most developed countries already exploited many a "barbarian nation", pushing them on at the same time along the path of "so-called civilization", now, however, the entire territory of the globe is divided up among the great powers and the practice of pitiless exploitation and enslavement of colonial and semi-colonial peoples has assumed the form of a

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system. There has been launched a fierce struggle for the redivision of the already divided world.

This very division of the whole world, which ended on the threshold of the new century, is, along with the stormy development of monopolistic capital, a turning point to a new epoch—*the epoch of imperialism.*

As a whole, capitalism, which developed until then along an ascending line of progress, began to show signs of decay. Lenin defined this last phase of capitalism as the phase of *decaying and dying capitalism*: not, however, in the sense that capitalism is dying off automatically but in the sense of "a transition of capitalism into socialism". "Monopoly, growing out of capitalism, already represents the dying of capitalism—the beginning of its transition into socialism. In the first place—the gigantic *socialization* of labor by imperialism . . . denotes the very same thing. In the second place—imperialism intensifies the contradictions of capitalism to the highest degree and carries them to a limit beyond which revolution begins". (Stalin)

But the Second International did not see the matter in this light. It embarked in theory, as well as in practice, on the path of opportunistic adaptation to the conditions and requirements of decaying capitalism, of imperialism.

Marx and Engels waged a constant struggle against opportunism, which already began to raise its head during their lifetime not only among the socialists of the Anglo-Saxon countries, but even among the leaders of the German Social-Democracy. The latter were "farsighted" enough to conceal from the public (up till 1932!) the letters of Marx and Engels, in which their opportunistic tendencies were subjected to criticism.*

Engels, full of indignation at the opportunism of the German Social-Democracy, wrote to Wilhelm Liebknecht the following, as early as 1885:

> "Is it possible that the chapter [in the *Communist Manifesto*—K.] on German or true socialism is destined to become the burning question again now after 40 years?"

And that is exactly what happened. To the extent that the development of a privileged *aristocracy of labor* in the epoch of imperialism tended to create a considerable social base for opportunism, to that extent the process of social democracy turning bourgeois continued in full swing.

* Two volumes of these letters, hitherto concealed by the social-democratic leaders, are now published by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute.

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Then began the reckless revision of Marxism, and of the basic theses of the *Communist Manifesto* in particular.

"The theory of pauperization is not true", was the cry of the social-democrats identifying the position of the broad masses of proletarians with that of its privileged strata. The *Communist Manifesto* is wrong when it states that the worker is only "an appendage of the machine", who is "daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the overseer, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself". No, the worker of today is rather a free partner of the industrialist. It is not true that "the worker has nothing to lose but his chains", for the contemporary worker may even acquire a few shares of stock, etc.

The imperialist bourgeoisie was interested in concocting petty-bourgeois illusions to befuddle the workers and the social-democratic criers from the top of the labor aristocracy were zealously carrying out the order. At first a frontal attack against the Marxian theory was launched by the Bernsteinians and by other revisionists; then Kautsky and other "opponents of revisionism" continued the attack in roundabout hidden ways by means of distorting, weakening and emasculating Marxism in the name of its "orthodox interpretation".

The aristocracy of labor, bribed and corrupted by the imperialistic bourgeoisie, was interested, not in preparing for the revolution, but in the prosperity of capitalist production.

That is why the social-democratic theoreticians got busy first of all to undermine the Marxian theory of the collapse of capitalism, and in particular the basic thesis, as stated in the *Communist Manifesto* about "the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule".

The revolutionary theory of the unavoidable sharpening of the basic contradiction of capitalism was transformed into its direct antithesis, into an *apology* for capitalism and for every step of the bourgeoisie, as long as it could be interpreted as promoting the development of productive forces.

To impede the development of productive forces is, according to social-democratic sophists, a reactionary step from the Marxian point of view, therefore, the labor movement must refrain from any form of struggle which would be likely to hamper the capitalistic industrial development. The fact that production in certain industries is still capable of development within the framework of capitalism, is supposed to prove according to Marx, that the time for socialism is still far off, etc. There was systematically spread the fatalistic viewpoint, that the development of productive forces will bring about socialism of itself some time in the distant

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future, not, of course, as a result of the breakdown of capitalism, and of a violent revolution, but as a result of a gradual and peaceful "growing into" socialism.

Thus was Marxism turned into labor liberalism under cover of pseudo-Marxian phraseology. The upper crust of the Second International remained socialist in words, bourgeois in deeds.

The practice of social-democracy was adapting itself even more fully and more rapidly than its theory to the requirements of the imperialistic bourgeoisie. The dominant political line of class collaboration of the pre-war social-democracy in the leading capitalist countries manifested itself in the dullest parliamentary cretinism and trade-union reformism (mainly in negotiations with employers regarding wage scales). Parliament was to them the center of the universe. Legal parliamentary democracy—their road to bliss. Parliamentary diplomacy—their wisdom and virtue.

Everything said in the *Communist Manifesto* about the "conservative or bourgeois socialism" and most of what is said there about the "German or 'true' socialism"—all that strikes squarely in the face of the leading spirits of the Second International, particularly during the period immediately preceding the World War.

A consistent struggle against this opportunism and bourgeois socialism became now the burning issue for all true Marxists within the international labor movement and in every individual country. The task of solving this problem was undertaken by Lenin—by Bolshevism. The struggle of Bolshevism against Menshevism and against the Second International was from its very beginning a struggle for the restoration of the true revolutionary Marxism both in theory and in practice. It was a constant battle against various and sundry falsifiers of Marxism. At the same time it signified a further development of Marxism in accordance with the conditions of the new epoch.

While the ringleaders of the Second International were covering up the *contradictions* of imperialism, Lenin was exposing those contradictions. He proved the inevitable sharpening of the three basic contradictions of capitalism in the epoch of imperialism, namely: (a) between capital and labor, (b) between a handful of exploiting nations and an overwhelming majority of exploited populations of colonial and dependent countries, (c) between various imperialist powers and financial groups.

While the ringleaders of the Second International were busy painting the perspective of a uniform evolution of capitalism, Lenin demonstrated the acceleration of its *uneven development* in the epoch of imperialism.

This uneven development is not an increase of differences in

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the level of development of various capitalist countries. No, this inequality tends to diminish on the basis of such an equalization, as was shown by Comrade Stalin, and the intensification of the action of such an unevenness of development in the period of imperialism is quite possible. This unevenness does not consist in "some countries overtaking others and then surpassing them economically *in due course, in an evolutionary way,* so to say" as was the rule in the period of pre-monopoly capital. No,

> ". . . the law of the unevenness of development in the period of imperialism denotes a spasmodic development of some countries with relation to others; a rapid displacement from the world markets of some countries by others; periodic redivisions of the *already divided world* by means of military clashes and military catastrophies; a deepening and sharpening of conflicts in the camp of imperialism; a weakening of the front of the world capitalism with a consequent possibility of breaking through that front by proletarians of individual countries and the possibility of the victory of socialism in individual countries." (Stalin)

(To be continued)

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The N.R.A. in the South*

By NAT ROSS

"HELL'S going to break loose down here in a couple of months!"

You can hear this remark wherever the workers and poor farmers of the South gather today. This may seem a surprising statement in Dixie, stronghold of the Democratic Party and of Roosevelt, where the blare of the "new deal" ballyhoo has been particularly loud. The press, the radio, the movies, the churches and schools, the misleaders of the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party, the Negro and white misleaders of the Negro people, sang one and the same song: "Milk and honey will soon flow through Dixie-land for everyone. Everything will be peaches down in Georgia once more. King Cotton will be crowned again, and will lead the march to prosperity."

For a short period, this sentiment was echoed by the Southern masses. But today the spirit of the masses is changing sharply. Lower wages and back-breaking speed-up; thousands of jobless thrown off the relief lists and thousands of veterans thrown off the pension rolls; sky-rocketing prices and lynch terror against the toilers; destruction of blooming cotton plants and plans for large acreage reduction in 1934 and 1935—all this has revealed Roosevelt's N.R.A., not as the joyful comedy of "Happy Days Are Here Again," but as Wall Street's tragic drama of mass starvation, lynch terror, preparations for a new world war—all carried out in cooperation with the Southern capitalists and landlords.

LOWER LIVING STANDARDS FOR THE SOUTH

The backwardness of Southern economy, which is particularly sharp in agriculture, with its semi-feudal share-cropping system, the horrible conditions of the toilers, the national oppression of the Negro people, and the sharp division between white and Negro, make Southern labor the victim of the heaviest blackjack blows of the N.R.A.

The policy of Roosevelt is to legalize the lower standards of the Southern toilers as compared with the rest of the country, to

* This article was written for the October issue of *The Communist* but was omitted due to the exigencies of space.

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try to deepen the disunity between white and black, and especially to launch the most murderous attack against the Negro people. Failure to see that the N.R.A. launches its heaviest attacks against the Negro people is failure to understand the hunger and lynch program of the N.R.A.

Let us look at the codes for a moment. The textile code set a minimum of $13 for the South and $14 for the North. The lumber code calls for 22½ cents an hour in the South and 40 cents an hour in the North and West. Southern laundry workers will receive a minimum of $5.67 weekly, Northern laundry workers $14. In the steel code, provision is made for payment of 25-27 cents an hour in the South—one-third below the Northern scale.

Most instructive is the coal code. The Alabama operators are, at the time of writing, demanding a basic wage which is half the wage in the Eastern coal fields. In the code signed by Roosevelt, wage-rates for Alabama have been left blank. After all the stage-play arguments in Washington are over, an agreement will be reached between Roosevelt, the coal operators, and the misleadership of the United Mine Workers of America, to legalize this big difference, to use the Alabama and other Southern coal fields as the strike-breaking, wage-cutting base against strikes in the other coal fields and particularly a general coal strike—something which Wall Street fears very much.*

Here is the essence of the N.R.A. codes: Northern labor is bitterly attacked. Sharper yet is the attack on the standards of the Southern white masses. But the worst victim of the N.R.A. attacks is the mass of the Negro people. This is the general N.R.A. hunger policy against the American masses.

NEGRO MASSES ARE WORST VICTIMS

The initials N.R.A. are popularly interpreted among the Negro masses to mean: "No Rights A-Tall."

The two biggest fields for Negro labor in the United States are agriculture and domestic service. Both of these occupations are specifically excluded from minimum wage regulations. With prices of food, clothing and shelter sky-rocketing, the present wages of Negroes in these fields are worse than starvation wages.

There are about 10,000 Negro textile workers in the South, practically all of them outside workers and cleaners. These Negroes are excluded from the minimum wage provisions of the textile code, by the general clause barring these types of workers from the minimum wage provision.

* After this was written, the Alabama coal operators finally agreed on a basic minimum wage of $3.40 for inside labor and $2.40 for outside labor—which is about 30 per cent lower than the basic Eastern minimum.

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Where the masses of workers in a Southern industry are white, the difference between Northern and Southern wage-minimums exists, but is comparatively smaller, as in the textile industry. But where the masses of workers in a Southern industry are Negroes, the difference is much greater, as in the lumber industry.

THE LIE OF CHEAPER LIVING IN THE SOUTH

Hugh Morrow, speaking for the Southern iron and steel industry, says that the reason for the lower wages of Southern workers is the need for less food, clothing, etc. But the fact is that studies made even by employers' associations show that, contrary to general opinion, the cost of living in Southern towns is greater than in Northern centers. The National Industrial Conference Board made, in 1928, an estimate of the cost of living in Northern and Southern textile centers. (It is true that price levels have changed since 1928, but the change has been about the same in both sections of the country.) According to this estimate, $20.79 was considered absolutely necessary for a worker in Fall River, Mass., to maintain even the low standard set up by this employers' association. For such a town as Greenville, S. C., however, the same organizations estimates $22.86 as the minimum, and gives as the minimum for a worker in Charlotte, N. C., $25.02.

A few days ago it was announced that bread prices in seven cities had climbed even higher than the average inflation price in the U.S. Four of these seven cities are in the South.

Miss Frances Perkins let the cat out of the bag in the steel code hearings, when she said that the lower wages in the South are due to the existence of large numbers of Negroes in the basic industries. And this—though not with the implications which Miss Perkins had in mind—is the chief reason for the lower wages in the South. There is here an enormous mass of Negro labor, which is even more barbarously exploited than the masses of Southern whites. The ruling class has to a great extent prevented the Southern white masses from forming a united movement with the Negroes, against the common oppressor, although growing unity is breaking down the barriers. For these reasons Southern labor is even less organized than Northern labor. And all these factors, arising primarily out of the slave conditions of the Negro agrarian masses in the Black Belt, are the real causes of the differences in wages between North and South.

WAGE-CUTS AND THE STRETCH-OUT—THE BROOD OF THE BLUE EAGLE

The brood of the Blue Eagle in the factories of the South, as in the North, is wage-cuts, the stretch-out, and, in many cases,

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lay-offs. We can give here only a few examples out of possible hundreds. Here are a few quotations from correspondence sent by factory workers to the *Southern Worker*, Communist organ in the South:

> "In the Lane Cotton Mills here in New Orleans, the higher-paid workers have got a pay-cut so as to increase the pay of some of the lower-paid just a little. All are speeded up at a terrific pace. Foremen were cut from $19 to $16; lappers from $16 to $12. Rope-makers used to work one shift for $9.75; they now work two shifts for $12. Hours have been reduced 31½ per cent, but the number of workers has been increased only 10 per cent. The same amount of work is turned out by fewer workers."

A correspondent from Winston-Salem mentions a common trick in the textile mills:

> "The Hanes Knitting Company has abandoned day pay and put almost all hands on piece-work to beat the $12 minimum wage. It has adopted a task system with the task so high that workers can't make it."

A worker in the Fincke Cigar Company, Texas, writes:

> "On adoption of the N.R.A. code, the wages have been cut from $1.70 for 100 cigars to $1.50."

In the T.C.I. (U.S. Steel) mills in Birmingham, the rollers (whose name has been changed to finishers but who still do the same work) have been cut from $1.03 to $.27.

Even in those few cases where the codes have increased money wages, the real wages have been lowered, because of the increase in the cost of living.

"RE-EMPLOYMENT IS JUST IN THE PAPERS"

Roosevelt's program is hailed as a "re-employment" program. Five million men back to work by September 1, said Hugh Johnson. But what do the Southern workers say?

"Re-employment is something we read about in the papers," writes an Arkansas worker. In the South, as everywhere in the United States, the small increase in jobs in a few mills and mines was temporary, and is being followed by a worse slump. When the T.C.I. began to re-hire a few men, the Southern newspapers blazed with headlines announcing the return of prosperity, for the T.C.I. is the heart and center of Southern industry. But within a few weeks, the rail mill of the T.C.I. closed down, and two furnaces were carried down with it.

Dozens of textile mills in the South have closed within the past few weeks. "We cannot continue to make goods for the storeroom indefinitely," their managers announce.

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Even the temporary increase in production did not mean a proportionate increase in the number of workers. The speed-up and increased use of machinery—but particularly the speed-up—are the order of the day in the South. A worker wrote from Gadsden, Alabama:

> "Now steel orders are picking up a bit. But does that help the unemployed workers? No. They just put two men's work on one man."

Thousands of jobless are being cut off the relief rolls. The agencies give the lying excuse that "jobs will soon be plentiful." The cutting down of the cotton acreage takes bread from the mouths of thousands of unemployed. Says a farmer in Texas:

> "At this time of year, thousands of unemployed wait for cotton-picking time. It would mean, even at the five cents or so paid per pound, that they could get a little food in the winter. Plowing under means starvation for these laborers."

The families remaining on the rolls will get the least possible relief. In Chambers County, Ala., relief workers get 50 cents a day. In Tallapoosa, they get $1 a day. In Selma, Ala., the R.F.C. relief pay is 75 cents a day for Negroes and $1.50 a day for whites, *for the same work.* Funds for relief are derived by the racketeering methods of the Community Chest, etc. Struggles are taking place in various sections of the South, against the starvation of the unemployed.

In the lay-off of new hundreds of workers, Negroes are, as usual, the worst sufferers. Negroes are being fired from such jobs as waiters, delivery boys, truck drivers, messengers, janitors, elevator operators. In some cases, the Klan openly steps in to enforce this policy.

THE A. F. OF L. MISLEADERS DO THEIR PART

The wave of hundreds of strikes throughout the South, against the wage-cuts and stretch-out brought in by the codes, led the bosses to give increased support to the organizing campaign of their friends, the A. F. of L. leadership. Of course, the A. F. of L. has uncompromisingly accepted the whole Roosevelt program, and has been active in breaking a number of strikes in the past few months.

The first act of the United Mine Workers of America after its re-organization in Alabama, was the calling off of the strike in Walker County, after several mines had come out and thousands of other miners had voted to strike. Recently when the Alabama miners went on strike against the wishes of the U.M.W.A. misleaders, William Mitch, district president of the Alabama U.M.

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W.A. declared that the union would have nothing to do with the strike.

During a strike in the Fincke Cigar Co., in San Antonio, Texas, the employer got his Blue Eagle. The A. F. of L. was then able to advise the strikers that "to continue the strike would mean rebellion against the government." George L. Googe, southeastern district representative of the A. F. of L., has issued a public statement urging all Southern textile workers to refrain from strikes.

The motive behind the organizing drive of the A. F. of L. in the South was stated by Googe with great frankness. It is the motive of checking the increasing radicalization of the working class. We quote from the Birmingham *Age-Herald*:

> "One of the purposes of the Federation in its expansion of Southern activity, Googe said, is to forestall the possibility of organization of the workers into Communist and other radical groups."

The Socialist Party has played the part of the "Left-wing" of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy in putting over the N.R.A. hunger and lynch program in the South. Norman Thomas, on a visit to High Point, N. C., urged the workers to "take full advantage of the N.R.A. and the industrial codes" by working with the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

The Negro reformists and bourgeoisie kowtow before the N.R.A. and have become part of its official machine. They whitewash the N.R.A. lynch terror. R. R. Moton, head of the Tuskegee Institute, came out openly with a demand for lower wages for Negro labor. Other Negro misleaders have taken the same stand.

COTTON DESTRUCTION—AND RAGS FOR THE TILLERS

While millions of workers have not a piece of clothing that is not falling to pieces, the "New Deal" demands that the blooming cotton be put back into the earth. The plow-under plan is a scheme to enrich the big speculators and landlords alone. Laid away in the barns of these landlords and speculators is the cotton they took last fall from the hard-pressed small farmers and, by the custom of forced pooling, from the tenants and croppers on the plantations. This cotton they have been able to throw on the market at the temporary high price of the summer of 1933—a high price caused by inflation and by the plowing-under program.

Today, when the small fellows are picking their cotton, the price is headed for 8 cents a pound. The small farmer, with a burden of debts and mortgages, is in many cases forced out because of the smaller price for his reduced crop. The tenants and

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croppers have still less cotton than usual to exchange against their debts to the landlords, which will be higher at the inflation prices of food and clothing. With lower prices and reduced acreage, they are falling deeper into debt and are being forced down to the level of agricultural laborers. Many agricultural laborers, again, are squeezed out altogether by the decreased need for pickers for the smaller crop. And what we must remember above all is that the cotton belt is the Black Belt, and that the effects of the plowing-under fall hardest upon the Negro masses.

The government checks for the plowing-under of cotton are made out (at the demand of the landlords) to landlord and cropper jointly. To show what the result of this policy is, we quote again from correspondence to the *Southern Worker*:

> "Here in Little Rock, Ark., a cropper had $50 coming for the crop to be plowed under. The landlord told him he only had $12 coming, and that would go on the books against his 'debt'."

From Selma, Alabama, comes this information:

> "Checks of the government have been paid out to the croppers by some of the land-owners, but have at once been collected again by the land-owners for old debts."

The present plans to reduce the cotton acreage in 1934 by 40 per cent obviously worsens the conditions of the toiling farmers, leading to mass evictions, wholesale starvation, and unparalleled terror. The Share-Croppers Union, which now numbers 5,000 members in Alabama, is exerting every effort in a struggle against this further grinding down of the masses by the agricultural "New Deal".

THE NEW DEAL IS A LYNCH DEAL

To put over the N.R.A. hunger program in the South, to try to crush the seething resentment among the Negro masses, to keep down the growing strike wave, to deal with the militant spirit among the Southern farming masses, the Southern ruling class and their Democratic and Ku Klux Klan agents let loose a reign of terror against white and Negro toilers. The most savage wave was the series of lynchings of Negroes in Alabama, climaxed by the brutal Tuscaloosa lynch-murders, in which the Democratic judge, sheriff and deputies were the actual murderers of two innocent Negroes. Without question, it must be seen that one of the central points of policy of the Roosevelt "New Deal", despite all its fine phrases, is the program of lynch-murder against the Negro toilers. Since the introduction of the N.R.A., the lynch terror in the South is developing definite fascist characteristics under the direct leadership

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of the state officials, at the same time as the danger of mob pogroms increases.

In this wave of terror, the K.K.K. plays a leading role, with the help of the N.R.A. It uses threats and force against farmers who refuse to follow the plow-under program. Small groups of Klansmen and their hangers-on who terrorize the cotton farmers, operate under the name "Night Riders Administration", using the N.R.A. initials.

At the same time, there is an increased attack on the militant white workers. T. E. Barlow, organizer of the unemployed in Texas, has been murdered in the Tarrant County jail. Two farm organizers have been jailed in Arkansas. In Birmingham, in a period of a few months, Alice Burke, Wirt Taylor, and Jane Speed have been jailed for militant activity. An anti-N.R.A. demonstration in Tampa was followed by the beating of several leaders, and a series of house-raids. In Atlanta, where the masses made a spontaneous attack on an N.R.A. parade, the police department has requested funds for a car carrying machine-guns to disperse workers' gatherings. It is no accident that the most brutal K.K.K. lynchers and police-murderers are the loudest exponents of the N.R.A. Even the demagogue Kluxer and landlord-beast, Tom Heflin, is trying to ride back to popularity on the N.R.A.

Thus the "milk-and-honey" phrases of the N.R.A. agents resolve themselves in practice into the starved bodies of thousands of jobless and underpaid workers, into the charred remains of dozens of lynch-victims.

THE IMMEDIATE PERSPECTIVE—A GREATER SLUMP

What is the immediate perspective in the South under the N.R.A.? A few weeks ago, the Ensley mills of the T.C.I. (U.S. Steel) shut their doors after running for a few weeks with promises of continued employment. The T.C.I. is the foremost industrial unit in the entire South. This shutting down is a measure of the fact that production increase is temporary, and that it has been for the warehouse and for war-supplies, and not for the regular market. Even according to the reports in the capitalist press, there is no hope of re-opening the mills for several months, despite Roosevelt's so-called plan of large rail purchases.

If we examine the statement of Ernest N. Hood, President of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers, we get another indication of the immediate future. On the basis of Hood's statement, and under the title: "The Predicted Crisis in the Textile Industry", the Birmingham *News* says:

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> "Some time in October, it will become known whether the cotton manufacturers will be able to survive the increased costs. 'The question to be answered,' Mr. Hood says, 'is whether we can distribute our goods under the high price that must be charged. As an example, a sheet made in my mill that now retails at $1.17 will cost $2 if the manufacturers and retailers are to receive a profit . . . if the buying is reluctant and timid, the full load of carrying the additional costs of production will fall heavily upon the manufacturing concerns. Many of the companies would find it extremely difficult to shoulder the added burden.' "

And Darius A. Thomas, speaking for the Alabama coal operators, says: "We will make every effort to comply with the code until developments make it certain that further compliance would result in disaster both to the workers and to the industry."

This shows us plainly, first, that the Southern capitalists are finding it ever harder to climb out of the economic crisis; secondly, that mills and mines are preparing to shut down in the South; and, thirdly, that wage-cut will follow wage-cut for the Southern workers who will be starving on the job and are already hit by the increasing cost of living.

At the same time, the plan for a 15-million-acre cotton reduction for 1934 already indicates the desperate condition of Southern agriculture. Plans are being made to evict or starve hundreds of thousands of poor farmers and croppers from the land, which opens up, especially in the Black Belt, a vista of giant struggles.

The South is an extremely important center for the war-makers. Many of the most important docks are located there. The giant rayon mills of the South can be turned swiftly into centers for the manufacture of explosives. Muscle Shoals, supposedly developed for the sole purpose of electrical development and the manufacture of cheap fertilizer, is in reality a potential war-plant, which can specialize in the manufacture of deadly chemicals. The steel and coal centers of the South, particularly Birmingham, are important parts of the American war-machine. The Hardy-Tynes factory in Birmingham is at present working on a large order of navy compressors. Recent developments in the South demonstrate clearly that the N.R.A. is a measure for war preparations.

THE TASKS OF OUR PARTY

In this situation of deepening misery and starvation; of the increasing denial of elementary rights to speak, to strike, to vote, to receive an education; of the plan for hundreds of thousands of toiling farmers to plow under; of the attempt to wipe out, by mass starvation and murder, tens of thousands of Southern toilers—in this situation the Party faces tremendous tasks in the immediate

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future. Here the Open Letter must be, much more than heretofore, our permanent and daily guide to work. The Party in the South must understand as its main task, the struggle for Negro liberation, the winning over of the millions of toiling farmers, both white and Negro, under the leadership of the industrial working class guided by the Communist Party. And here, in District 17, it is absolutely necessary to accomplish the plan of work set out by the District Bureau in line with the Open Letter. It will be imperative for the District Bureau to make a thorough check on its concentration in the basic industrial enterprises and on its work of building up the revolutionary trade union movement and the opposition in the A. F. of L. It means developing a real united front movement. It means intensifying our work among the Negro masses, hundreds of thousands of whom are looking for revolutionary leadership.

But particularly, at the present moment, must we make every effort to mobilize white workers for the united struggle. Here it must be said that, without the immediate mobilization of all our forces to bring the white workers into the struggle, we are faced with a very critical situation, because the bosses and the A. F. of L. leadership are trying their hardest to keep the white workers lined up against the Negroes. At the same time, in our factory concentration, we must keep our forces at these points, without shifting, and we must learn to develop all of the issues that confront the Southern workers in such a way that the struggle against lynching and all struggles will revolve around the main industrial enterprises in the South. The concentration on the big factories does not for a moment mean slackening of our other activities. It means especially developing a mass unemployed movement, a powerful agrarian movement in the Black Belt, of white and Negro toilers under the leadership of the Share Croppers Union and of the Communist Party, which will form the main base in the struggle for Negro liberation.

In order to do this, we must increase the distribution of our revolutionary literature, and especially the *Daily Worker* and the *Southern Worker*. It means the development of our Party units as live gathering points of Communist workers, collectively leading the masses in the neighborhoods and shops. It means also the intensified struggle for the development of Southern forces as leaders in the revolutionary struggle. The tasks ahead of the Party in the South are very serious and difficult. They will require much heroism and self-sacrifice. By mobilizing all our forces, by carrying out the tasks set in the plan of work in line with the Open Letter, the Party will lead united struggles of white and Negro toilers, against the N.R.A., for Negro liberation, and against the capitalist system as a whole.

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Mass Struggles in the Chicago District and the Tasks of the Party

By B. K. GEBERT

(*Report to District Plenum, District Eight, October* 28-29 ,1933.)

THE purpose of the Industrial Recovery Act is to prevent strikes. The industrial codes were of such a nature in every industry that approximately one million workers in basic industries went out on strike primarily against the industrial codes. The strike struggles in the textile, mining, and steel industries are not ordinary struggles of the workers. These strikes carry with them political elements against the government, against the N.R.A. The militancy of the workers is a characteristic of these struggles, no matter to what unions the workers belong, or whether the workers are unorganized. The actions of the workers in Pennsylvania especially show the tremendous initiative and militancy of the American working class. We saw them in struggle, involving hundreds of thousands and nearly millions throughout the country. In this situation, the application of the united front from below can be better realized than in any other period.

Comrades, this wave of strike struggles did not fully register in our district. It is true that we led more strikes in the last period than in the history of our Party in this district. We led approximately 10,000 workers in strike struggles directly under the leadership of the T.U.U.L. The majority of these strikes were won. But where were the strikes led? In steel? No. In packing? No. In railroad? No. In the industries of concentration, in the shops of concentration, we did not develop strike struggles. We led a number of strikes in the small shops, some metal shops and light industries. We do not want to minimize this. But we are of the opinion that our attention was occupied too much with these little strikes, to the serious neglect of our plan of concentration and work in the heavy industries.

The only strike led through concentration was Standard Forging. If we had not concentrated on the shop, there would have been no strike. When we decided to concentrate on Standard Forging, we declared that this was one of the weakest links in the Calumet steel region, that once we started the strike, we would utilize it to

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penetrate into the steel mills in Calumet. Probably it would have been impossible to develop strike struggles in the other mills; but one thing is definite—that on the basis of this strike we could have penetrated into the steel mills and organized workers into the Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union, and developed partial struggles inside. That was our outlook. That is why we decided to concentrate on the Standard Forging and Illinois Steel in Gary. The strong point during the strike was that we were able to defeat the A. F. of L. and the Red Scare quite effectively. A shop nucleus was built in the strike. Yet what was lacking?

During the strike everything else stopped functioning. The shop nuclei in other mills did not meet. Union groups did not meet. Everybody was looking for one thing—for a victorious ending of the Standard Forging Strike; and then the workers would flock to our union and the problems would be solved. It may not have been said in so many words, but that was the outlook. Comrades will dispute this. They say, we organized mass meetings, etc. It is true that we organized mass meetings, but we stopped there. We did not organize the workers to penetrate the steel mills. When the strike began we decided to organize a huge parade in the steel region. When the question was raised, a number of leading comrades in the union objected to it. What do you mean organize a parade in four days? We need at least two weeks for preparations. The strikers themselves rejected this. Results showed that as far as mobilization is concerned, in other words as far as the influence of the Party upon the workers is concerned, the parade strengthened the strike to a large extent.

Secondly, a conference was decided upon, a delegated body of workers from the shops, from the organizations and from the unions. This decision did not receive sufficient attention from the fractions or the Party in the region. If that conference had been called earlier, it would have strengthened the strike. That conference registered one thing, that there is an upsurge in the steel region, not so much from the number attending, but in the sense that we are able to build the union. I want to add that the strike was called off after six weeks. It was impossible to hold the strike any longer. It was ended just at the proper time. We won the confidence of the workers. They know very well that the U. S. Steel, Republic Steel were watching every move and were behind the Standard Forging Co. The steel bosses knew the meaning of even a partial victory of the Standard Forging workers. Our lesson is that when there is a strike in one shop, it must be utilized in the whole industry to build the union.

The A. F. of L., comrades, remains in the steel region as the main obstacle in the way of organizing the workers. In the strike of

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the Standard Forging, the group of 15 or 20 organized by the A. F. of L. were quite an obstacle. It was a central point around which the company maneuvered, the break the strike. Anybody who thinks that the A. F. of L., because it holds no mass meetings, is now out of the picture, is mistaken. The demagogy of the Roosevelt administration and influence of the reformists among the workers still exists even among militant fighting workers. That is something that many of us have not fully taken into consideration in the daily work among the masses.

Revolutionary unions have grown in this period. We can record a growth of 5,000 in the T.U.U.L. unions. You will find, however that the bulk of the membership in the T.U.U.L. are not in the basic industries. In the steel industry our immediate task is to carry through the decisions of the united front conference.

In mining we cannot say we made headway. Organization gains were very negligible. Our comrades there do not yet understand the Party policy. From the leadership down, there is a definite policy to be the tail to the Musteite elements. Our comrades proclaim that these people are leaders of the miners and our whole policy depends on what these people will do. Because of this we have not built the opposition in the P.M.A. but allowed events to pass through our hands. The miners closed the mines and marched on the Springfield. They marched against the N.R.A. The leadership of the P.M.A. sanctioned the movement, but did not expect it to develop to such a broad extent. When the 10,000 miners arrived, the official leadership could not be found. Our comrades took advantage of this. They put forward slogans for spreading the strike, for the election of a strike committee. These slogans remained words because we relied on Mrs. Wieck and she sabotaged.

In the Illinois coal fiels we can make no headway without defeating Mrs. Wieck, Allard and company and winning the miners for our program. We must recall to our comrades the statement in the Open Letter:

> "The reformists and especially the Musteites are attempting in the most active manner to paralyze the influence of the Communists by their own activity."

This is exactly what is taking place in the Illinois coal fields. As long as our Party fails to understand fully the role of Musteism we shall not be able to make headway among the miners.

We must raise sharply the unity of the U.M.W.A. and P.M.A. miners. The policy of the P.M.A. leadership has drawn a line of hostility between these U.M.W.A. and P.M.A. miners. The overwhelming majority of the members of the U.M.W.A. can and must be won. The fact that 13 locals are moving to the Left is one

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of the examples. We must speak openly about the betrayal of the miners' strikes in Franklin and Saline counties by the leaders of the P.M.A., who instructed the miners not to go on the picket lines because they might get hurt. We know that the miners in Saline county disregarded this policy and with guns on their shoulders marched to the mines of the Peabody Coal Co. and fought.

It is essential to strengthen our points of concentration, to establish our units, not only numerically, but politically. In Springfield our comrades issued a leaflet against the N.R.A. While that leaflet had not a clear Party position, it was against the N.R.A. It was received by the miners enthusiastically. In some locals of the P.M.A. the miners voted against the N.R.A. parade. This shows that when we develop a proper approach, with adequate slogans, we shall win the miners in struggle against the N.R.A.

In the packinghouses, both in Chicago and East St. Louis, we can say that no headway was made. Our organizers in the Packinghouses in Chicago are functioning as substitutes for the masses. Even those workers who did join the union do not feel that it is their union. There is no democracy in the little groups or locals of the union. We have no faith that the masses will develop organization and struggle. There is a complete neglect of work among the unemployed stockyard workers. But this does not mean that the stockyard workers are any different from workers in other industries. The whole method of work must be changed. Our sections on the South Side, particularly the District Committee and the District Buro, do not pay sufficient attention to the stockyards. We are occupied with the steel and mining industries and have seriously neglected work in the stockyards. This calls for an immediate, drastic change.

In the railroad industry there have been steps forward, as shown at least in a better orientation by comrades here. Our comrades in the railroad industry do not think that the Party can help them. Recently there was a Pension Convention in Chicago, a movement of the railroad workers for old-age pensions. We decided that the unity movement call a mass meeting at the time of this convention. The comrades objected at first, but finally agreed to organize the meeting. There is, however, a National Committee, which decided against a meeting. They thought they might have an opportunity to speak inside the convention and that the meeting of the rank and file would lose them the chance. This is exactly the same policy as in the coal fields. Our work among the railroad workers basically is the same as in other industries, although we cannot close our eyes to the aristocracy traditions. When the Party decided to issue a leaflet in its name to the railroad workers, a leading comrade said, "nothing doing". The workers, he contended, would say that the

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unity movement and the Party are the same thing. That leaflet, when finally issued, was greeted by the workers. They took it into the shops and the lodges.

Now, as to the A. F. of L. strikes. The A. F. of L. did not lead any important strikes in this district in heavy industries. They led, however, the needle trades both in Chicago and St. Louis. They led a number of small strikes here and there. Nowhere in these strikes did we fight sufficiently for independent leadership in the strike and on the general strike committees. There was a tendency either to drop completely the industrial union and go into the A. F. of L. or to stay away completely. We discussed these questions time and again with the comrades from the needle trades, but the struggle for independent leadership was not fully waged. Attempts were made here and there, even with some success, but in general we cannot be satisfied. One of the principal tasks in all strikes is to fight for independent leadership. The A. F. of L. was quite active in the strikes called by the T.U.U.L. It is just sufficient to mention Oppenheimer Packing, Stewart Dye Casting Corporation and Standard Forging. We did not have a single strike in which we did not come into conflict with the A. F. of L. The A. F. of L. organizers went to the point where they came to the Peoples' Auditorium to attend the meetings of the workers. The A. F. of L. does not give up the struggle for the workers who are on strike under our leadership. In some cases they were able to break the strikes. In many cases, because of our incorrect approach, we lost the strikes to the A. F. of L. or to independent unions.

Comrades, our Party is a sort of one-track mind Party. Wherever we set one task to carry, we always forget about everything else. I have in mind particularly our work among the unemployed. The Open Letter warns us against this:

> "The necessary concentration of our work on the most important factories does not of course, in any way mean that we should allow our work among the unemployed to slacken."

Our unemployed work has considerably slackened. This neglect of the unemployed opens the way to the Musteites. They have not yet moved in on Chicago, but in the Illinois coal fields they are calling mass rallies of unemployed in Springfield. In the Illinois coal fields and throughout Illinois, our Unemployed Councils established themselves to some extent. We must particularly carry on the Unemployment Insurance campaign. The Springfield conference decisions were sent to fractions and organizations, but that is as far as it went. The problem is not only that of the Unemployed Councils, but of the Trade Unions. We do not combine our work. We did not rouse

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the masses to carry out the decisions of the Springfield Convention. This is a particular danger in view of mass lay-offs and the fifth winter of hunger and starvation.

Comrades, I want to spend a few moments on work in the A. F. of L. Our work in the A. F. of L. in our district is at a stand-still, with the exception of the carpenter's union, where we forced the bureaucracy to re-admit members of the union without paying initiation fees. In other locals we hardly exist. There are larger and larger numbers of workers from the A. F. of L. joining our Party. The workers now joining the Party are willing to carry on the fight for the Party policy, and around them can be developed a movement inside of the locals of the A. F. of L. But this problem of the A. F. of L. is not taken seriously in our work, neither by the District Buro nor by the sections. We were unable to establish a real leadership among the opposition elements of the A. F. of L. locals. At the C.C. Plenum, Comrade Stachel proposed that it is necessary to set up a city organization committee, an elected body of opposition groups under our control to discuss the problems for work in the A. F. of L. I believe this will receive some attention, particularly from those who are working in the A. F. of L. It seems to me that our methods are not bringing results. It is necessary to change and improve them.

I have cited some of our outstanding weaknesses and errors. They are all expressions of the Right danger, the main danger in our Party. We can enumerate a long line of examples. We have mentioned the leaflet in the coal fields. In St. Louis our union held a mass meeting at which a resolution was passed finding the company guilty of violating the N.R.A. Our leading comrades, on a number of occasions, prevented the sale of the *Daily Worker* at strike meetings, stating that these were union meetings and not Party meetings. In most of the strikes the *Daily Worker* may not be spoken of officially. We do not bring sufficiently forward in the course of the strikes the program of the revolutionary unions; we hide the face of Party. The results of this are very disastrous. I wish the comrades from Section 3 would speak about the Kimball Piano strike where our Party comrade at a mass meeting of the strikers, when asked whether the T.U.U.L. is a red union, said "No." But the workers found out that it is a red union. They came to the next meeting and said, you lied to us. In Coleman Bronze we organized the workers, we led a strike and won the strike; but we failed to clarify our position. After the strike the workers decided to withdraw from the T.U.U.L. and organize an independent union.

On the other hand, comrades, we have "Left" tendencies, such as calling strikes prematurely (nut pickers in Section 1, Stewart

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Dye Casing Corp). We cannot play with the workers. Every action of ours must be well prepared.

In the mass work of our Party, the Party was not built. It will probably be a surprise to you, comrades, to learn that in the first nine months of 1933 compared with 1932, we recruited approximately 60 percent less to the Party. Recruitment to the Party dropped considerably. Here are the figures: In June 1932, we recruited 233; in July, 250; in August, 199; in September, 240. In June, 1933, we recruited 133; in July, 144; in August, 188; in September, 165. Fluctuation is still 61 percent in the Party.

Comrades, this is an alarming situation. It calls our attention to the life of our units and the work of our fractions. There is one bright spot in the recruiting in the shops. In July there were 36 shop nuclei and today we have 45 shop nuclei with approximately 10 percent of the membership in the shop nuclei. True, not satisfactory, but a little progress has been made. Some old shop nuclei do not expand, they do not grow, they just stick. That shows that our work in the shop is of such a character that we do not attract the workers.

Our shop papers cannot be distinguished from union organs. Our papers are not political organs of our units in the shops. Our shop papers in many shops are an important instrument in the hands of the workers. A number of comrades report how workers take our papers, how they like to read and spread the papers. Non-Party people take the shop paper inside the mills, as well as our leaflets. But the content of our papers is not satisfactory. We have 45 shop nuclei and only about ten shop papers; and not all of them are issued regularly. There is a serious problem confronting us in that our sections of concentration, where we must have the strongest sections, are the weakest. For instance, our Stockyard section is the weakest section; and to it falls the task of organizing the biggest industrial plant in the city. As far as leadership is concerned, the composition of the Party there is not satisfactory. If we go to the other sections, we find that neither 6 nor 12 is in a good situation. Nor can we be satisfied with Gary. Our comrades have some explaining to do as to why our nuclei stopped functioning during the strike at the Standard Forging. Again, in the coal fields, what are we doing in the base of concentration? We know that there is something going on among the nut pickers, but we would like to know what is going on among the steel workers. In every section our concentration points are weak, and their strengthening is the biggest task.

Comrades, I want to deal with a problem that is quite often spoken of at all our plenums, namely, to build the Young Communist League. In our plan of concentration we state how much will be done for the Y.C.L. by the Party. Wherever there exists a Party nucleus, we will build a Y.C.L. nucleus. Some work has

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been done in this direction. In St. Louis the Y.C.L. was built to quite an extent in the course of the nut pickers' strike. In the coal fields three units of the Y.C.L. have been organized. This is progress. But on the whole the problem of building the Y.C.L. is forgotten. It is because our Party has not yet discovered the American youth politically. We do not approach the young workers in our everyday life and activity. We did not even make slogans for the youth. We are isolated. In drawing up our demands we do not take into consideration the problem of the young workers in industry. How can we organize them if we have not this economic approach to the young workers? Some language groups have done some good work, particularly the Lithuanians, who organized a youth movement. If our language comrades can organize youth, why can't the Party organize youth around the Party units and other mass organizations? We speak of the danger of fascism and war. When we speak of fascism and war, we cannot omit the young workers. We have 400 young workers in the Y.C.L. Out of these 200 are dues-paying members. When the comrades speak of other problems they should speak of the American young workers, employed and unemployed. I fully realize the importance of the students, but they are not basically a proletarian youth. If we had 400 packinghouse, steel and mining youth, I would say, yes, we have a good beginning; but you will find that this is not the case. The percentage of the steel workers, miners, etc., is negligible. We have built a shop unit in the steel industry. This is a step forward, but not enough.

Now I want to come to one of the very important problems confronting our District—the question of building of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights as a mass Negro liberation organization. The District Buro wholeheartedly agrees in this with the decision of the C.C. It is not the first time that we have discussed the question of building the L.S.N.R. But on a number of occasions leading comrades, in this district as well as nationally, have raised serious objections to building the L.S.N.R. All kinds of pretexts have been offered, such as, that the L.S.N.R. implies a Jim Crow organization, that it would be a substitute for the Party, that it has no program, etc. There are only a few comrades who have spoken for the L.S.N.R., but many who have spoken against it. Objectively it has led to the situation where we have a struggle against the L.S.N.R., which means a struggle against carrying on work among the Negro masses, particularly against the work for Negro liberation. That is the political meaning of the opposition to the L.S.N.R.

The L.S.N.R. will be a tremendous help to bring the Negro workers into the T.U.U.L. Throughout the Party there is a tremendous neglect of bringing the Negro workers into the unions of

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the T.U.U.L. We can record only some organization of the Negro workers in Sopkins and among the nut pickers. But in the basic industries where the Negro proletariat is working we have as yet been unable to win the Negro workers for the T.U.U.L.

Comrades, in all our activities, in all our struggles, the united front is the best instrument to mobilize the workers for struggle. Be the united front between organizations, unorganized workers, or members of the reformist organizations, in the shops, in all forms and fields of activity, it has meaning only when it is a united front of action. If not, we are committing a crime against the working class, because we make it just more comfortable for Muste and other elements to mislead and betray the workers. And we must not hesitate to expose before the masses of workers anybody who professes agreement with the program and refuses to carry it out in practice or openly sabotages it. The present upsurge of the masses gives us a splendid opportunity to build a real mass united front from below.

Finally, in all our work there is one outstanding problem confronting us, and that is to improve the political life of the Party and of our fractions. In our agitation and propaganda among the masses we must learn to raise the problems to a higher level. To bring forward our ultimate aims for the overthrow of the capitalist system and for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We do not fully popularize the achievements of the Soviet Union. The recognition of the Soviet Union has aroused the masses of the workers, who would like to more about it. Not the *Chicago Tribune*, but our Party, should be the one to tell the workers about the life of the Soviet Union.

The problem of schools, both central and section schools, must receive more attention. The sale of literature, *Daily Worker*, *Young Worker*, *Working Woman*, etc. must be a question combined with the everyday activity. There should be no mass meeting, demonstration, picket line at which we haven't our publications. This is necessary because it will also increase the class consciousness of the masses of workers and toilers in general. In this connection I want to raise very sharply the question of the *Daily Worker*. I have lost track of how many months we are in the campaign for the *Daily Worker* to raise $40,000. To date our district has raised only 25 per cent of the quota—a little over $1,000. This shows that there is something wrong with our approach to the workers. There can be no excuse that there is no money. It is true that we cannot expect $100 donations, but donations of $1, 50 cents, 15 cents and dimes can be raised from many workers. The District Buro proposes to make it mandatory on every member of the Party to raise $1 for

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the *Daily Worker*. We cannot continue this drive forever. This money means the life or death of the *D.W.* We discussed the question of the *D.W.* at the meeting of the C.C., and the situation is such that without the $40,000 not only can we not continue the improvements, but there will be no *D.W.* Surely our district cannot be a partner to anybody who will help to put an end to the *D.W.* $5,000 can be raised in our district if we want to do it. There are sections which raised the tremendous sum of $2! Nobody can convince me that in a whole section with all its influence among the workers, only $2 can be raised. That means that the whole section is out of the picture as far as the *D.W.* is concerned. There are other sections equally "good." The out-of-town sections do not even realize the problem of the *D.W.*; it is only a problem for the Chicago sections. We must change this attitude. We must see to it that the *D.W.* be recognized as the national organ of the Party.

Now as to the work in the A. F. of L. I want to state that the main task confronting our Party is to organize the unorganized workers in the heavy industries into the unions of the T.U.U.L. But this task, comrades, is not in opposition to work in the A. F. of L. On the contrary, without the work inside the A. F. of L., we cannot carry the first point. That is the relation of the two, because the A. F. of L. bureaucracy will always remain the main obstacle in the struggles of the workers. Therefore, our task is to penetrate inside the A. F. of L.; but the first step toward penetration, it seems to me, is the problem of organizing of our Party forces inside the A. F. of L. Between 20 percent and 25 percent of our Party membership are members of the reformist unions. What a powerful force this is! But this force is not organized, and hence it is not a force at all. It is necessary to organize this force. Comrade ————, who did not hear the report, raised the question, just as it had been raised in the report, of organizing some sort of committee or council to which delegates from groups of the A. F. of L. locals would come, maybe once a month. To have their own center (not ideologically independent of the T.U.U.L.), so that they would be able to discuss and take up their problems. At the present time it is difficult to give leadership through the T.U.U.L. to the A. F. of L. Comrade Stachel raised this question at the Plenum of the C.C. After the remarks of Comrade ———— I am more than convinced of the necessity for setting up such a committee of the A. F. of L.

We must not overlook the fact that tens of thousands of workers joined the A. F. of L. in the last period. For every member organized in the district in the T.U.U.L., the A. F. of L. has organized at least ten. What is interesting is that they penetrated in this distract not only the needle trades, but also some heavy industries.

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Our task, therefore, is not to isolate ourselves from these workers, but to be with them. In these newly organized locals of the A. F. of L. work can be carried on much more easily. Anyone who knows anything about newly organized unions knows that it is easy to carry on work there. Our work in the A. F. of L. must be placed in this light.

The same applies to the railroads. Some time ago we liquidated the railroad workers' league and commenced work inside. But our work in the A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhoods can be successful only when we combine work inside the local with the struggle on the job. This means struggle for independent leadership in strikes, it means preparations for strikes—something that is seriously lacking in our work. Then there is the struggle of the unemployed workers who are members of these unions. Relief committees must be elected in these locals to carry on the struggle for relief for the members of these organizations. In short, our work there is not only our struggle against the bureaucracy abstractly, but for the improvement of the economic conditions of the workers and in the course of the struggles there should naturally take place the building of the opposition movement and of the Party. We must bring many more workers who are members of the A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhoods into the ranks of our Party.

The question of independent unions is quite a topic of discussion. This is an important question. We cannot say that under all conditions must we organize only the T.U.U.L. There are certain conditions where we shall organize independent unions, providing we become active in them.

There have been all kinds of discussions on the United Front and the fight against the social-fascists. I think the language of the Communist International is clear. Yes, we are entering a united front with organizations, which is not the main point of emphasis, but with the workers below. Once we reach an agreement on what basis we shall struggle and that agreement is broken by the organization, we will expose the leaders and not tolerate them. No one will claim that the Musteites carry through the struggles and policies agreed upon at the Cleveland Conference; but we do not expose them. No wonder the miners cannot distinguish between us and them. Further, we must clearly understand that Musteism, "Left" social-fascism, prevents the emancipation of the working class from the bourgeoisie. That is the political characterization of Muste's role today. We must clearly understand this, and in our daily work apply this understanding. A classic example is the Illinois coal fields. Muste, as a rule, has influence among the native American workers, and it is this particular section that our Party has to win. It represents a problem of life or death to our Party. We must not

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underestimate Musteism, particularly in this period, for it has tendencies of growth due to the revolutionary upsurge of the masses. Because of the weak class consciousness of the American proletariat Muste can get more of these masses and prevent the development toward the revolutionary road. That is why we must in every concrete situation examine thoroughly all these problems and strike hard against the leadership; we must win the membership and their supporters and followers. This can be done only then when we have the courage to criticize these people in the open in the course of struggle. That is one of the most important means of winning the workers on our side.

In the remarks of one of the comrades an expression of this sort was made—that the N.R.A. will collapse practically by itself. There is no such thing as the automatic collapse of the N.R.A. That we must emphasize very categorically. There are signs of the breakdown, but there will be no automatic collapse of it. We must be the ones who will fight and defeat it. The N.R.A. is not the last resort of the capitalist class; it paves the way for fascism. Therefore, the tendency will not be "backward," but forward, not to the pre-N.R.A. period, but towards fascism. That is the tendency. The breakdown of the program of the N.R.A. does not mean that the bourgeoisie will not intensify its campaign towards tightening and building a fascist organization in one form or another. It is a step in that direction. It must also be clearly understood that there can be no automatic collapse of capitalism. There is only one way and that is the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

In this connection I want to repeat what one comrade raised at the C.C. Plenum: "What has happened to the slogan for the overthrow of the capitalist system?" We are so engrossed in the practical, everyday work that our final aim for the overthrow of the capitalist system is left in the background.

Comrades, I want to conclude with a quotation. In No. 17 of the *Communist International* there is a very important article by Comrade Green.

> "Until the Party has its fundamental basis of American cadres, the Party will not be able to become a real mass Party, leading the revolutionary struggles of the American proletariat and the American toiling masses. Therefore, the question of new cadres in the American Party, along with the question of concentration, is a radical question for the further development of the Party. In the preparation of cadres the Party must have its own political 'Five Year Plan' if it may be so expressed."

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Leipzig — A Grandiose Provocation of the Bloody Fascist Dictatorship

"This campaign of calumny does not possess its match in history, so truly international is the scene on which it is enacted, and so complete is the agreement with which the most various party organs of the ruling classes conduct it. After the great fire of Chicago the news was sent round the world by telegraph that this fire was the hellish act of the International, and, indeed, it is to be wondered at that the hurricane which laid waste the West Indies was not ascribed to this same satanic influence"* (Marx: Report of the London General Council to the Hague Congress in September, 1872).

AFTER half a year of bloody terror, the incendiaries, provocateurs and murderers—Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and Co.—have decided to construct a provocation still more dastardly than the burning of the Reichstag. Gripped in the vice of internal and foreign political difficulties, the fascist dictatorship organized on September 21st in the Leipzig Supreme Court, after eight postponements, the disgusting spectacle of a trial of four Communists who had nothing whatever to do with the fascist provocation. The spy, van der Lubbe, for whom the headsman's axe is already prepared, is to supply the evidence.

This "trial" has also other aims besides the execution of the accused Communists. It is intended, by the fascist provocateurs, to become a *tremendous demonstration against the International Communist movement, against Bolshevism.* The fascist executioners are surrounded by a world circle of hatred and contempt on the part of the workers. They arouse disgust among the wide circles of the petty-bourgeoisie and the intellectuals of all countries. Even some sections of the bourgeoisie oppose the fascist provocation for reasons dictated by the imperialist interests of their countries. The contradictions which are tearing the capitalist world to pieces, the struggle against the attempts of the German fascists to undermine the Versailles system, the fear of the arming of Germany, compel the bourgeois countries of the late Entente to regard the provocation of the Hitlerites with distrust, which the latter are utilizing to strengthen their armed forces. The entire world bourgeoisie are feverishly pre-

* See No. 5/6, *Communist International*, 1933.

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paring for a stupendous world war. But the fate of Russian capitalism which, entangled in the first world war, perishing in its flames, gave birth to the great October Revolution, compels the bourgeoisie of most countries to undertake much more cautious and cunning preparations for the second than those now being made, with true Prussian crudity, by the frantic Hitlerite cut-throats. And now the fascist provocateurs have prepared a set of forgeries which they intend to display to the world bourgeoisie at Leipzig to dispel their doubts and exhibit themselves in the part of the only savior of world "civilization" from world Bolshevism.

But at Leipzig the fascists place most stress on the internal aims:

> "Great masses of the workers do not want anything except bread and pageants," said Hitler to Otto Strasser in 1930, long before his advent to power. "They do not show any interest in any ideals, and we can never expect to win over a large number of workers."

Instead of bread, German fascism fed the working class on lead during this half-year. This makes it all the more necessary for German fascism to organize such pageants. The fireworks of the Nuremburg commemorations in May are dead. It is necessary to organize something more solid. The gallows in Altona, Chemnitz, Dusseldorf and other towns of Germany, have not enabled fascism to terrify the heroic German proletariat, fighting under the leadership of the C.P.G. against the fascist dictatorship. The overwhelming mass of the proletariat have always cherished a deadly hatred for the fascist murderers. But even the wide circles of the petty-bourgeoisie and peasants, who succumbed to fascist demagogy, are now rapidly passing through a process of disillusionment which occasionally reaches the point of open unrest and mutinies against the big capitalist and landlord policy of the third Empire. Unrest has struck deep roots in the ranks of the proletarian and semi-proletarian elements who form part of the storm detachments of the fascists. An eloquent confirmation of this fact is the 10,000 national-socialists imprisoned in concentration camps, the order to arrest every national-socialist who leaves the fascist party, the hundreds of mutinous storm troops who have been shot. But these are only the flowers. The fruit is still to come. In autumn the moratorium granted the farmers ends. The wage agreements terminate in the basic branches of industry. Exports continue to fall disastrously. One after another, the municipalities declare themselves bankrupt. The Third Empire is menaced by a budget disaster which it is hoped to avert by the reorganization of the banking system now taking place in preparation for inflation. The fascist dictatorship means, in the next few months, to proceed to the policy long awaited by heavy industry (which is dissatisfied with half-measures)—*the sharp lowering of the standard of living of the masses, the general attack on the working class.*

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The Leipzig trial, in particular, is intended to form the artillery preparation for this attack. At the national-socialist Congress which recently ended in Nuremburg, Hitler hinted at this, saying:

> "During a difficult crisis we must support the feelings of the masses and distract their attention from gross material demands in the direction of spiritual needs."

This is why the Leipzig trial is required precisely at the present time by the fascists. They will not be able to convince anyone of the guilt of the prisoners. Even an international commission of non-Communist lawyers and the London Public Court have proved incontrovertibly that the real incendiaries of the Reichstag are those who are now playing at the trial at Leipzig. They were too crude, too hasty and too awkward in their incendiarism of the building of the "people's representation" in Germany. But if the world workers' movement does not prevent them, they are still capable of using it to raise a third wave of terror. This is not a sign of the strength and firmness of the fascist regime, as putrid opportunists try to convince us, but it is a sign of frantic terror, the fear of a criminal gang of murderers in face of the anger of the people, and the maturing revolution.

* * *

Provocation, as a political weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie against the working class, is not an invention of the German fascists. The thorny path of the liberation movement of the working class against capitalist slavery is strewn with provocations. Bismarck's anti-socialist law was prepared by the grossest provocation, the shooting of the gendarme Schtieber. The Czarist government made a system of provocation of the Azev type to strengthen its rule. But provocation has never flourished so well as after the world war.* Decaying capitalism is trying to form a mass basis for its rule. *Extensive and fantastic provocation is to serve as one of the means of doping the great masses of the petty-bourgeoisie and create a pogrom atmosphere against the revolutionary working class.*

The Russian bourgeoisie, in the stormy revolutionary days of 1917, tried by the aid of the most abominable provocation against Comrade Lenin, the leader of the world revolution, to create a patriotic fervor and rouse the jingoist part of the petty-bourgeoisie to pogroms against the revolutionary proletariat. The foul cry, "Lenin is a German spy," was launched by the bourgeoisie to rouse the soldier masses of workers and peasants, starving and ruined by the three years of imperialist slaughter, to continue the world war for the glory of stock exchange, the capitalists and the landlords.

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* See *The Agent-Provocateur in the Labour Movement*, 10c

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In other circumstances, when they were not under such mass pressure as the Russian bourgeoisie in 1917, the British diehards limited themselves "merely" to forgery and the Zinoviev letter, which had been manufactured by the British Secret Service, to get into power. But, in proportion as class antagonisms become more intense, and the revolutionary crisis grows, provocation assumes an ever more bloody nature.

The Gorgulov affair, calculated on the provocation of war, did not provide the provocateurs with what they wanted. Owing to the vigilance of the Communist Party of France, which carried on a splendid campaign against the backers of Gorgulov, the veil was torn from the faces of the provocateurs. On this occasion the masses of the petty-bourgeoisie did not submit to provocation.

The stern hand of the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R. punished the provocateurs who were working under the guidance of the general staffs of the imperialist robbers. It exposed the role of Stern, Ramzin, etc., to the proletarian public opinion.

How inseparable a part of the practical policy of imperialist circles provocation has become is shown by events in the Far East, where it has *already unleashed a war* which may become a world slaughter. The warlike operations of the Japanese imperialists against China began with three provocations which were prepared and carried out by the Japanese General Staff: (1) The pogrom against the Chinese in Korea; (2) the explosion on the South Manchurian Railroad; (3) the murder of the Japanese officer Nikamura by the Japanese gendarmes. These three provocations served as an excuse for the beginning of military operations by the Japanese imperialists against China, and made it easier to sieze Manchuria and the whole of Northern China and also to prepare a series of new provocations towards the Soviet Union. Another example is afforded by the fascist dictatorship in Hungary, which organized an act of provocation through its agent Matushka. Many innocent people were killed when a train was blown up to charge the Communists with organizing this crime, and bring about the execution of Comrades Sallai and Furst.

* * *

But German fascism has broken the record in the sphere of provocation, because here, in the industrial heart of Europe, proletarian revolution is rapidly maturing. The C.P.G. had got to grips with the problem of winning over the majority of the working class. Despite the treacherous strike-breaking policy of the social-fascists in July, 1932, the masses, under the leadership of the C.P.G., replied by a stormy wave of strikes, reaching the point of a general strike of Berlin transport workers, which compelled the bourgeoisie to replace the Papen Government by the "social" General Schleicher.

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Six million Communist votes—such was the reply of the masses to the dictatorial measures of the German bourgeoisie. Schleicher was unable to weaken the tenseness of the overcharged atmosphere to the least degree. The bourgeoisie determined to allow Hitler to take the reins of government, but, out of fear of an explosion of the proletarian revolutionary struggle, they left the national-socialists still in a minority in the Cabinet, without giving the Nazis the basic commanding heights in home and foreign policy. A fierce revolutionary seething was taking place among the proletariat. In mighty demonstrations the masses showed their determination to struggle. The C.P.G. led the revolutionary struggle of the masses, not ceasing to show the proletariat the tremendous dangers which threatened the masses. Its appeals were directed particularly towards the social-democratic workers, the majority of whom were still captives of their leaders and by their influence rallied together the wide strata of the proletariat. In the history of the treachery of social-fascism, an extremely shameful page was written in February, 1933. When the masses were straining towards the struggle, preparing for a general strike which could have rapidly developed into a victorious armed revolt, the social-fascists who "hated revolution like poison" (Ebert), used all their influence through the trade unions, the party, the youth league and the press to keep the masses back from action by means of democratic illusions, assuring them that on March 5th, 1933, fascism would be defeated at the ballot box. Rudolph Hilferding, the theoretical leader of the S.P.G. and the Second International, wrote at this time:

> "Hitler is again defeated, Hitler is again thrown back on to the grounds of legality, but in circumstances much less favourable for him. All that is left for him in the future is to play the role of parliamentary opposition" (*Die Gesellschaft*, January, 1933, No. 1, pp. 3-4).

The fascists, however, prepared the elections in such a way as to guarantee themselves success with the aid of the greatest provocation in history, compared with which the Rumanian elections are a mere plaything. While playing the comedy of "legally" winning the majority in parliament by democratic means, Hitler, Goering and Co. began to prepare for the destruction of the workers' organizations, dealing the chief blow against the C.P.G., manufacturing the election bomb—the burning of the Reichstag—so that at one blow they could destroy the vanguard of the German proletariat in a wage of pogroms, disarm the working class and not allow it to realize its position, and secure the support of the petty-bourgeoisie and the wavering part of the bourgeoisie, by facing them with an accomplished fact. "Hic Rhodus, hic salte." Fascism or Communism.

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The continuity of the provocational methods of the government of the German bourgeoisie is astonishing. Eighty years ago Marx wrote:

> "Thus the German christian government did not limit itself to breaking desks, stealing other people's documents, forcing people to give false evidence, manufacturing forged documents, buying perjury, and all that, to secure a conviction of the Cologne prisoners. They tried to throw a shadow of disgrace on the London friends of the prisoners so as to shield their Hirsch, whom Schtieber swore that he did not know and of whom Goldheim declared that he was not a spy" (Karl Marx: *The Exposure of the Cologne Communist Trial,* Vol. viii., p. 549).

* * *

Communism or fascism—such was the problem in March, 1933, when Goering set fire to parliament, so that in streams of workers' blood he could save German capitalism in face of a proletarian revolution. The problem is the same now, six months later, at the Leipzig trial. Only the social-fascists have tried to trick the masses by their chatter about the "third path", betraying the masses step by step, handing over to the bourgeoisie one position after another won by the working class in the revolutionary days of 1918. Their "third path" consists of fighting for the hundredth time on the other side of the barricades against the rebellious workers, together with the frantic counter-revolution. The "third path" consisted of the shooting of the Spartacists, the plot of Legien with Stinnes, the Bielefeld agreement of Severing, the crushing of the insurrections of 1921 and 1923, down to the use of a whole chain of such provocations as are now being used by the fascists.

Who was the first in Germany to blow open the safe containing documents of the first Soviet representation in Germany, with the aim of provocation, afterwards forcing the Soviet representative to leave the country? Scheidemann. Who was it that rigged up the provocational trial of the imaginary, non-existent Cheka? The social-democrats. Who was it that provoked and shot down the May Day demonstration in 1929? Zoergiebel. These are the people who, in the post-war Weimar Germany, laid the path of provocation against the revolutionary working class. It was from them that Goering and Goebbels received their methods of provocation, burning parliament for the struggle against the revolutionary workers' movement. The social-fascists, who led the masses under the knife of fascism by their policy of the "lesser evil" and then joined in the regime of open fascist dictatorship, voting for the Hitler policy in the Reichstag, handing over the trade unions to the Nazis, leading the workers to the "national" festival on May 1st, etc., are trying to change over to the "anti-fascist style", because the social-democratic workers

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have had to pay dearly for their refusals of any attempt to form a united front with the Communists. The social-fascists are even now trying to hold back the masses from revolutionary methods of struggle against the fascist dictatorship, to restore the skeleton of their collapsing organization, to keep back the masses from going into the camp of Communism, so that in the decisive fights between Communism and fascism they can once more try to come forward in the role of gravedigger of the revolution. For this purpose social-fascism makes wide use of "left" phrases. The social-democratic press, under the pressure of the masses, "undertakes the defense" of the prisoners of Leipzig. But not very long ago *Napshud* in Poland, *Het Volk* in Holland and *Social Democrat* in Denmark repeated in chorus, after the fascist gang, the provocational fantasies of Goering about the Communists. The C.P.G., which stands in the fires of the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, welding together the forces of revolution, knows the value of this "defense" of the Communists by the social-democrats, and is widely exposing the forced maneuvers of the social-democrats.

During the Leipzig Trial, during the new wave of provocation, every worker, every toiling peasant, every office worker will sum up the half-year of fascist dictatorship, using also for this the organization of the burning of the parliament building. They will then understand what some of them did not yet understand at the time of the burning of the Reichstag by the fascist provocateurs. Never before in Germany have the capitalists, manufacturers and factory owners been such unquestioned masters in their factories. Never have the workers been so exploited and downtrodden as at the time of the rule of the fascist dictatorship. Fascism has shown the masses its real face, which it tried to hide before coming into power.

Millions of workers have been denied all kinds of insurance. The budget for 1934 provides for a reduction of relief for the unemployed by 410 million marks. With the help of the so-called "voluntary" contributions, wages have been cut. Rationalization measures, which cut wages in a hidden form, are being carried out everywhere. The rubbishy talk of the liquidation of unemployment is being exposed even by fascist sources.

In the official organ *Wirtschaftsdienst* on June 7th, the fascists recognize the breakdown of all their measures and the intensification of the crisis compared with last year:

> "Poverty among the unemployed this year is undoubtedly greater than last year, because all reserves have dried up. On the whole, pauperism is no less than at the beginning of 1932. Owing to the fall of exports by 10 per cent *unemployment has increased by* 200,000 *persons.*"

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Never before have high prices struck such blows of starvation and ruin at the wholly or semi-unemployed masses of town and village as since the Hitlerites presented the landlords and Junkers with billions in premiums, by raising prices and a tariff war. The basic articles of consumption have been wiped out of the sorry budget of the worker. According to the figures of *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, in comparison with 1932 consumption has decreased as follows: Meat by 6.2 per cent, sugar by 30 per cent, beer by 9 per cent, cigarettes by 2 per cent. The price of widely used articles rose by the end of June by 3 per cent. Butter hardly appears as an article of food for the broad masses. The price of margarine has jumped by 75 per cent. The "voluntary" contributions from wages take up about 20-25 pfennigs a week.

Never before has arbitrary licence in Germany been such a heavy burden for simple people of town and village. The tax-collectors crush the small shopkeepers, craftsmen, etc., who are gasping in the grips of the crisis. Never before have the chain stores been surrounded with such a financial and legal guardianship as during the rule of those who at one time, for demagogic reasons, smashed the windows of these same stores. Hugenberg, even before his resignation, gave the foundation for the need to protect the big capitalist stores:

> "Is there any sense—I ask from the point of view of the middle classes—in crushing the chain stores by taxes and other means, and together with them big sums in capital and a large number of firms which supply them?"

Hugenberg himself was replaced by Schmidt. The excesses regarding the chain stores stopped.

Never before have the bankers and stock-exchange speculators lived in such safety as during the rule of the bold "destroyers" of usurious servitude. Never before did the landlords and Junkers in their estates so oppress the farm-hands and the poor peasants, liquidating all social legislation and reducing their wages to a starvation level, by means of the unpaid labor-power supplied by the fascist government from the so-called labor camps. The situation, not only of the poor peasants, but of the middle peasants, has grown worse in connection with the lowering of the purchasing power of the working class.

Never before in Germany has there been such an orgy of militarists, such a spread of armed gangs, such feverish war preparations, as now. There is not a workers' village, home, barracks or a hut in which the unemployed find shelter, where they are not mourning proletarians who have been arrested, tortured and shot. For the masses did not stop their struggle for a moment against the

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fascist dictatorship. And ahead lies ". . . the worst winter of the century. We come to the people and say: we shall get through this winter, so that next spring we can once more begin the attack on unemployment" (Goebbels).

The skeleton hand of hunger, crisis, bankruptcy, gripping the throat of the third empire, will not be removed by endless pageants. The pageant of Leipzig has been thought out as a stupendous provocation of the fascist gang so as to distract the masses from the struggle against hunger, cold, unemployment and terror. The pageant of Leipzig, according to the plans of the fascists, should terrify the heroic vanguard of the German proletariat, which, in the difficult conditions of terror and provocation, has not allowed itself to be separated from the masses. The German proletariat, during this half-year, showed heroism unparalleled in the history of the workers' movement, showed self-sacrifice, unswerving loyalty to the revolution and to its class, to its Party, produced hundreds of Litgens, who, at the foot of the gallows, under the axe of the headsman, from the prisoners' dock in the courts, threw out a proud challenge to the enemy, dying with the slogans of the proletarian revolution on their lips. Such a proletarian vanguard will not be terrified by the new round of provocation beginning at Leipzig.

Hundreds of thousands of Communists, despite the white terror, proudly carry the standard of the C.P.G. Thousands of papers, and leaflets are being distributed among the working class under menace of death. Not a single trade union meeting takes place without an anti-fascist demonstration. The strike wave is rising again. There have already been hunderds of cases, in which workers in factories, under the leadership of the Communists, have succeeded in victoriously beating back the capitalist offensive. Further, there are ever more frequent cases of *political* actions in the factories against compulsory participation in fascist demonstrations, against compulsory deductions from wages, against the fascist pageants. On August 4th for the first time the workers came out on the streets in militant demonstrations with red flags, in Berlin, Hamburg, Lower Rhine and other districts. All this shows that the masses and their vanguard are recovering from the first blows, are rallying together and beginning to take up the counter-offensive.

Not only the entire weight of the fascist terror was loosed against the C.P.G. Attempts were made to disintegrate it from within, by the aid of provocation, by the aid of vestiges of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites and Brandlerites, by defeatists of the type of Hertzen, who sowed distrust and panic in the ranks of the fighting Communists. The fact that the C.P.G. stands like a granite rock against all attacks, that the masses of the members surround their leaders like an iron wall, proves that the Party, in preparing for

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battle with the fascist dictatorship, has every prerequisite for acquitting itself with honor. Let the social-fascist bankrupts and the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites slander as they will:

> "The wild howls of rage almost immediately *after* the beginning of the Russian revolution are raised against the Bolsheviks by the entire bourgeois and almost all the petty-bourgeois press. And the Bolshevik internationalist supporter of the proletarian revolution may justly hear in these wild howls cries of approval, for the frantic hate of the bourgeoisie frequently serves as a further proof that those who are being slandered, cursed and persecuted are honestly and really serving the proletariat" (Lenin, Vol. xiv,. p. 6).

The Communists of Germany will penetrate still deeper into the factories and rouse the last worker against the Leipzig provocation. The weeks of the trial must become a time of great mobilization of all anti-fascist forces for the struggle against the fascist dictatorship. Every worker in Germany must not only know the truth and the meaning of the burning of the Reichstag, but also the meaning of the Leipzig trial. These masses must be drawn into the struggle against the fascist dictatorship and every manifestation of discontent and protest against the offensive of capital, the house-owners, the landlords, must be raised to the level of a struggle with the root of all the evils—the fascist dictatorship.

The Communists of all countries, all the anti-fascists, during these days will increase their efforts tenfold to mobilize the entire world proletariat and all honest toilers for the struggle against the Leipzig provocations. There must not be a factory, mine, port, railway terminus, office or university, where mass meetings do not take place in defense of the prisoners. A wave of strikes and demonstrations of protest against the fascist provocateurs must sweep over all countries. Up to the present the Communist Parties have not done all that is necessary in their struggle around the events in Germany. Every week the fascist murderers lead the heroes of the proletariat revolution to the gallows. *In connection with the trial we must bring about a sharp change in the anti-Fascist movement*, we must mobilize the entire working-class press. The Communist Party must fiercely resist every effort on the part of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist circles to utilize the events in Germany for the filthy aims of their own bourgeoisie. We must expose the maneuvers of the social-fascists in this direction. We must link up the struggle around the Leipzig trial with the struggle against the process of fascization in our own countries.

In all countries, social-fascism is trying to keep the masses back from revolutionary methods of struggle against fascism by empty talk of a boycott of German goods, which they themselves do not take seriously, and which, in the form in which it is imagined by the

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social-democrats, can only play into the hands of their own bourgeoisie and the fascist cut-throats. In places where the boycott assumes a mass character, the Communists must be with the struggling workers exposing the nationalist character which the social-democrats are trying to give to this boycott. When the Communist International organized a boycott against the murderers Horthy and Co. after the defeat of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, the social-democratic parties of all countries fell on the Communists, foaming at the mouth in their defense of the bloody deeds of Horthy. When the Communist International in 1923 proposed to organize a transport boycott against Mussolini, the social-democratic parties and the Second International disrupted this revolutionary action, heaping filth on the Communists of all countries. At the present time, when the proletariat in many countries, under the leadership of the Communist Party, is organizing revolutionary actions, strikes and transport boycotts of steamers which bear the emblem of the bloody fascist dictatorship, the social-democratic ministers Stauning in Denmark, Cabalchero in Spain, Maisner in Czecho-Slovakia, attack the strikers with armed forces and bring the organizers of the *most effective and correct boycott at the present stage, the transport boycott, to trial* (prosecution of Larsen for organizing a general strike at Appenrad in Denmark, against the provocation of the German fascists). This is the real face of the social-fascists, and the meaning of the boycott maneuvers adopted by the Amsterdam International. The boycott of German goods, in places where it is carried on by social-democracy (Holland and Denmark) serves the social-fascists to draw the masses into the united front with their own bourgeoisie. Under the slogan "Buy British and Dutch goods" the social-fascists are carrying out the social orders of the bourgeoisie of their own countries.

Around the Leipzig trial we must *arouse the hatred of the toilers* of the whole world for all the fascist provocateurs. The chasing out of the super-provocateur and hangman Rosenberg by the workers of London must be an example for all revolutionary workers.

Under the pressure of the proletarian struggle against the bloody terror in Germany, the fascist canaille are trying to lie, to deceive and lead astray proletarian public opinion, denying the existence of the terror in Germany. Only a few days ago *Kreutzeitung* brazenly stated in the official communique of the German government that murders and terror in July, 1933, has noticeably diminished compared with July, 1932, contrasting the 69 killed in July last year to 17 killed this year, while in reality, even according to a summary of the fascist press, in July this year 82 workers were shot, of whom 17 were publicly executed. The task of the Communists is to *rouse the indignation of the masses around the Leipzig trial against*

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endless murders such as are taking place, day after day, in Germany. Two thousand workers shot, tens of thousands mutilated by the executioners, 100,000 tortured in the fascist concentration camps, call the world proletariat to struggle against the fascist murderers *for the liberation of the political prisoners, headed by the leader of the German proletariat, Ernst Thaelmann.*

The fate of the prisoners in Leipzig is in the hands of the world proletariat. It depends on the scope of their struggle, the scope of the anti-fascist struggle, whether Goering, Hitler and Co. will be able to carry through the Leipzig provocation successfully for themselves. The Communists must *rouse the vigilance of the masses towards new provocations which may be framed up by the provocateurs during the trial.*

The question of the dictatorship of the proletariat or the dictatorship of fascism has never faced the world proletariat so sharply as now. There is no middle path and cannot be. The terror of the fascist dictatorship is scattering the last illusions which were created by the social-fascists in the minds of the social-democratic workers as to the third path, the blessings of bourgeois democracy. We must show to the masses the lessons of the two paths of development—the path of the victorious proletarian revolution in the U.S.S.R., the path of the proletarian dictatorship, which stands like a granite rock in the raging sea of the capitalist chaos of fascism, provocation and war plots, and the path of Otto Bauer, Wels, Vandervelde, the path of the Second International, which leads to the dictatorship of the fascist murderers, prepared, in a democratic manner, by the apostles of the Second International.

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Political Repression and Social Discrimination Against Negroes in South Africa

By A. NZULA

THE natives in South Africa, in addition to being the subjects of the most ruinous economic exploitation at the hands of the Anglo-Boer imperialists, are the victims of the most ruthless political repression and monstrous social discrimination imaginable. South Africa has been called "the most anti-Negro country in the world". This statement is no exaggeration. The national oppression of the natives of South Africa is one of the basic prerequisites for their economic exploitation, a phenomenon which the cynical and brutal Nationalist Hertzog government is not ashamed to proclaim from the housetops in reply to the hypocritical and timid protests of the South African Smuts Party against extreme measures and unnecessary repressive laws. The natives are denied the most elementary rights that even bourgeois "democracy" entitles them to. The keynote of South African legislation is its anti-native working class character and the battle-cry of every politician, labor, Nationalist or South African Party (imperialist)—"We shall make South Africa a white man's country," by which is meant that they are determined and willing tools to continue the enslavement of the natives in the interests of the imperialists, however much they may disagree on other minor questions. Thus, the natives during the course of a century have witnessed their increasing deprivation of the most elementary human rights, with the sanction of the laws and conventions of South Africa, a country which never tires of boasting about its being the only representative of "Western civilization" in Africa, the only "civilization" worth while.

If we examine the character of this "civilization" in its practical application we shall discover a system which, for cruel suppression and barbarous robbery, is unparalleled in any country. We know that, for instance, the development of imperialism (capitalism) in all countries has always led to the expropriation and enslavement of the peasantry. We shall not discuss with what thoroughness this has been carried out in South Africa unless to affirm the fact. What is

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interesting is what country can show such a cynical law in its brutality as the Natives Land Act of 1913.

The bourgeoisie in other countries is always at pains to show that the peasantry lose their land and are poverty-stricken because they are thriftless and backward. The Natives Land Act of 1913 lays down a principle which prohibits any native from leasing land or share-farming in any "European areas". ("European areas" represent 90 per cent of all the land, leaving 10 per cent to the natives who represent 75 per cent of the whole population of South Africa.)

This racial discriminatory Act became law in spite of the universal and indignant protests of the whole native population. Significant also of the great extent of open and unashamed chauvinism in South Africa is the fact that this law was sponsored by the South African Party which boasts liberal traditions, the party of General Smuts, the philosopher (quack) who lies to the world that the Africans under his beneficent rule, in contrast to the Belgian policy of depopulation, are "a happy, care-free, dancing and singing race". As a direct consequence of this South African Party law we have what is known in South African history as the "Bulhock Massacre of 1920". A party of natives had been in occupation of land at Bulhock near Queenstown for years and rightly claimed their right to it when General Smuts himself ordered them to leave it without saying how the loss they would suffer by such action would be made good. Naturally they refused to obey any such order and in consequence Smuts sent troops to evict them. In the clash, more than 200 unarmed natives were shot down by machine guns.

As to the general effects of this iniquitous racial law, the native writer, Sol. T. Plaatje, gives a harrowing though timid account of the sufferings it entailed, in his book, *Native Life in South Africa*, published a few years after the law came into effect. The act led to wholesale evictions of native tenant farmers, their families and stock. In those days one witnessed the endless spectacle of native families with their stock and goods, trekking across the country in a futile search for new tenancies. Hundreds of their stock perished and the owners were forced to engage themselves to European landlords and plantation owners on the slave terms prevailing today.

The South African bourgeoisie, faced with the greatest and most universal crisis of capitalism in history, is howling about the "drift of the natives into the towns", while shutting its eyes wilfully to the causes that have given rise to and inevitably must encourage this tendency. The question of unemployment in South Africa has assumed huge proportions today, especially amongst the native workers. The government pretends that the unemployment amongst natives is caused by the drift of the starving native peasantry into the industrial areas and therefore where the natives are concerned all that is necessary is to

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invoke vagrancy laws against the unemployed, instead of relief. In order to guarantee a sufficient labor supply the imperialists found it necessary not merely to expropriate and reduce native land holdings, but to tax them. All natives in the Union of South Africa are subject to the payment of annual personal (or poll) tax of one pound regardless of their income, and also a hut or dwelling tax of 10 shillings, *i.e.*, ten shillings per annum in the case of natives in the Reserves or native territories. The white population is exempt from any such taxation. Thus, we find that in a population of about 5½ million natives, the very poorest strata in South African society, 1,184,241 are taxpayers. All men of 18 years of age or over are liable to taxation. No exemptions, or very few, are granted, and though the law formally exempts old men, indigents, chronic invalids, etc., in practice their relatives pay the tax.

Thus we have the case of the majority of white farmers paying neither income tax nor any other direct tax, while their native laborers are burdened with high taxes. To quote one of the reporters on the government Native Economic Commission:

> "In the Transkei [a native reserve or territory] a European [*i.e.*, White] farmer with a 2,000 or 3,000 morgen farm [a morgen is equal to 2 1-9 acres] who does not pay income tax, escapes direct taxation, whereas a native with a 2 or 3 morgen plot, or even no plot at all, pays 20 shillings, and if he has a hut [dwelling] not less than 30 shillings a year in direct taxation.
>
> "In the town and on the diamond diggings, the anomalies of the difference in the systems of taxation applied to Natives on the one hand and to the other races on the other hand, are even more glaring. There will be living side by side in a slum, Europeans, Coloureds, Asiatics, and Natives, all equally poor, but only the Natives pay direct taxation, the amount in many towns and on the diggings often being the whole of a month's total wages in cash or kind." (See p. 225 Report of Native Economic Commission, 1930-1932.)

Why the last case, the case of the slum dwellers, should be more glaring as an instance of inequality than the case of a white farmer employing tens of natives who pay tax while he escapes, the reporter does not explain, and cannot explain because of his bourgeois approach to the question.

This taxation has had the effect, intended and conscious, of driving the natives in the reserves to labor in the mines, the shops and farms of the imperialists. The South African bourgeoisie cannot hope to solve the question of native unemployment today by merely driving them back into the reserves, without giving them much more land and altogether abolishing the taxes that they have to pay. And this is just precisely what neither the Hertzog nor the Smuts governments will do. On the contrary, only in September of this year,

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they sent punitive expeditions equipped with military planes, machine guns, bombs and armored cars to collect the taxes from the revolting Ovambo tribes in South West Africa, who cannot and will not pay these unjust exactions. So much for land taxation under the "beneficent rule" of Hertzog and Smuts.

One of the main arguments that the apologists of imperialism use to fool the white workers and uninformed public, even the colonial masses themselves, is the "civilizing mission"—that the black mass is the "white man's burden", which history has forced upon them against their will and inclinations. The English imperialists call it "trusteeship" and mouth the most sickening hypocritical stuff on all and every occasion on this, their mission in Africa. And yet, what are the facts? Let us take the question of education. Owing to the utter neglect of a "civilized" government like South Africa in the question of taking a census of the native population, it is not always easy to arrive at the facts vital to the presentation of a correct picture relating to the question of native education. But a conservative estimate of the number of native children of school age by the government-appointed Native Economic Commission places the figure at 1,373,000. The government provides in the most niggardly fashion for the education of only 283,000 or 20 per cent of the total number. This means that the great majority of native children are denied all education. When we remember that the government in 1926, on introducing the personal tax on Cape natives who had until then been paying only the hut tax, had given the excuse that the revenue derived from it would be used to provide for native education, we shall realize just how shallow and false the claims of the imperialists to educating the backward natives are. Only one-fifth of this tax money ever finds its way into the Native Development (education) Fund. An examination of the kind of education provided reveals uglier facts. Of the 283,000 children attending school only one-half of one per cent ever reach the higher classes, *i.e.*, above standard VI. The education in the lower standards is not worth speaking of. Only one university college, under-staffed and badly equipped, ignoring the teaching of the natural, physical and mechanical sciences, but concentrating on theology and idealistic philosophy, is allowed the natives, Indians and Coloreds, while the European children have access to numerous colleges, universities and technical schools from which the natives, Indians and Coloreds are banned on grounds of color.

The progress of the natives in the field of education—and it is insignificant—has been achieved in spite of and in direct opposition to the policy of the Anglo-Boer imperialists. The control of education is also a subject which rouses the greatest dissatisfaction of the native people. The missionaries, those faithful tools of imperial-

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ism, are in charge of all native education from the lowest to the highest, either directly or indirectly. Thus the schools are nothing but missionary agencies whose aims are to produce a humble, god-fearing, docile servant for capitalist exploitation. The spineless character and unimaginable docility of the South African native intellectual is standing proof that the missionaries have not neglected and are not neglecting their job.

Health regulations and administration, sanitation, housing and vital statistics are also fair gauges of a State which claims to be civilized. The "slum areas", *i.e.*, working class districts of the industrial cities of Johannesburg, Capetown, Durban, Kimberley, etc., with their ramshackle tin shanties and overcrowded, unsanitary, badly lighted (candles and kerosene lamps are in the majority of cases the only means at the disposal of the inhabitants) medieval buildings are not only a disgrace to civilization, but a mockery of all human decency. And yet those are the only places to which the natives have access. Segregation laws decree one part of a city white and another part black to the enrichment of parasitic and wholly useless landlords. There are no reliable statistics on this question, also the fault of our "civilized" government, but a few cases will show how the health of the native masses is being taken care of by the Hertzogs and Smutses. During February, March and April this year there was an outbreak of a malaria epidemic in Natal and Zululand which swept 4,000 natives into their graves, entirely owing to the callous neglect of the Nationalist Government of Hertzog and Pirow, who had been warned many months previously by their own specialists to take preventive measures—to drain malarial swamps and to distribute quinine. These measures were taken only in the case of the rich white farmers. The result for the native peasants was disastrous.

According to official estimates the requirements of the natives in the field of medical attention call for a force of 900 trained medical men and yet the actual supply is less than a dozen doctors. A great deal of agitation around the question of establishing a medical school for natives in South Africa has been in progress during the past five or six years. The Carnegie Fund offered to supply the necessary buildings and equipment but the Hertzog government would have nothing to do with it. What can the intentions of the Hertzog and Pirow government be? To see the natives die a slow death from diseases which are the direct consequences of their economic enslavement and exploitation.

So far, we have only been dealing with the effects of the South African system of national oppression and exploitation as it affects the whole population, and that very inadequately. It must be remembered that in all this, the greatest sufferers and the people who

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feel the full weight of this monstrous oppression are the native workers and poor toiling masses. It is they who come into closest contact with and experience this hellish suppression. And for them it was and is meant. The intolerable conditions under which he works have made the native worker the most "dangerous" element for the imperialists in South African society. The imperialists recognize this fact, but recognizing it they proceed, by the very measures they adopt to overcome it, to intensify and accentuate it a hundredfold by means of pass laws, color bar laws, low wages, and all kinds of anti-working class legislation.

What are the pass laws, what is their purpose, these documents which the native workers call "badges of slavery"? In order to control the movements of their wage-slaves who are always ready to seize every opportunity to escape from their bondage, the imperialists have introduced a system of registration which requires the native worker in the cities (which for the purpose of this law are called "labor districts") to carry around on his person a document or documents of identification with his full history and fingerprints, which he must produce on demand from an officer of the law. This document is called a Service Contract and the native who breaks it is liable to criminal prosecution. This means that it is illegal for native workers to strike and all native workers who go on strike are liable to prosecution under the Masters' and Servants' Act (Pass Laws).

This is only one aspect of the pass system. A native writer, Henry D. Tyamzashe, has given a brief but excellent summary and characterization of the diverse and numerous passes that the native is required to carry about on his person by law:

1. Identification (Natal)—This has to be carried by all natives in Natal for identification. It is a monthly document for which two shillings are paid per month.

2. Traveling Pass—Carried by all male natives wishing to travel; in the case of rail a native has to produce it before a ticket is issued to him. Certain ticket issuers will demand also his poll tax receipt. Thus the native is often embarrassed, and does not know what form of "pass" is actually required before he may travel.

3. Six Days' Special Pass (Permit to seek work)—When a native arrives in town to look for work, or leaves services, he is given a six days' "special" to seek work. After the expiration of this period and failure to get a job, the "special" is again endorsed for another six days. Should he again fail to gain employment he is "ordered" to another area by the police.

The authorities do not care how he gets there. All they care about is that he has to go there or suffer arrest or imprisonment. This is one of the cruelest of the pass laws. [In the present unemployment situation when thousands of native workers have no jobs,

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this regulation has been one of the main restrictions against which the unemployed have directed their attention, and militant demonstrations have forced relaxation in its administration, but not abolition.]

4. Monthly Pass—This is a contract of service. [I have already described its effect, besides which a monthly fee of two shillings has to be paid for it, nominally by the employer, but actually by the native worker—A.N.]

5. Daily Laborers' Pass—This has to be held by all natives who carry on business. They pay two shillings per month, but the absurdity of the document is that while a native who carries on such private business of his own can issue "special passes" to other natives, he cannot supply himself with a "special pass"!

If he desires to go to another area, or to be out after 9 p.m., he has to apply to the Pass Office for his "special". Suppose this man is a painter, and is called on Saturday afternoon to do an urgent job, he cannot get away before the Pass Office opens on the following Monday. By then his job has taken wings. Suppose his wife be so unfortunate as to give birth to a child after 9 p.m., he cannot leave his home to call the doctor or the nurse. If he does, he will be arrested and convicted, according to law.

6. Day Special Pass—Every native who wishes to visit an area other than the one in which he resides has to carry a "special pass" stating how long he will be on such a visit.

7. Night Special Pass—A native has to carry this if he wants to be out after 9 p.m. The employer can refuse to grant this pass if he likes—as many do—and the worker has either to go at his own risk or go to bed.

8. Trek Pass—This applies almost entirely to farm laborers when they leave one farm or district for another.

9. Location Visitor's Permit Pass—A native who visits any location has to get a permit from the Location Superintendent. If this official is against revolutionary organizations he refuses the permit should the visitor be an organizer or member of such bodies.

10. Lodger's Permit—Natives are allowed to become residents of municipal locations only if they have paid from one shilling and sixpence to two shillings and sixpence per month.

11. Poll Tax Receipt Pass—[I have described this measure; it only remains to mention that this receipt must be produced on nearly all occasions when the other passes are demanded—A.N.]

12. Exemption Pass—This is the "Big Boss" of all passes. It is supposed to exempt the bearer from native law and all other passes, but it does not. Wherever the bearer goes he will still be asked for his pass just as the native who has no such "exemption".

This monstrous system of continuous surveillance and steady

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check-up is not merely calculated to control every movement of the native worker, but to harass and "boss" him so continually by a policy of pinpricks as to render him full of despair at his helpless lot. But the imperialists have miscalculated. The pass system enjoys the sustained, universal and active hostility of the workers and toiling masses. This hatred has found expression in heroic struggles for the destruction of the passes, burning them, tearing them up and putting them into bags which have been sent to the Pass Offices. 1929, 1930, 1931, Dingaan's Day (December 16th, see article by Jackson in *Negro Worker*, No. 12, December, 1931), are historic events in the struggle of the native masses against the pass laws, in conditions of the most unbridled terror. The government of South Africa has hitherto withstood all these attempts to destroy these hateful passes. The Communist Party of South Africa is linking the struggle for the destruction of the passes with the fight against the whole system of exploitation and national oppression which reigns in South Africa today. The native workers are beginning to realize that the pass laws are just one phase of their oppression, and that not the most oppressive. This realization is drawing them closer to the revolutionary movement.

The imperialists howl that the Communists are inciting the natives to revolt and therefore must be ruthlessly suppressed. Communism cannot be suppressed. The conditions of monstrous oppression and denial of the most elementary rights of the native workers and toiling masses of South Africa call for the immediate strengthening of the revolutionary movement and for a strong Communist Party that will wage a relentless and stubborn fight against imperialism, for national liberation and social emancipation.

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The New Phase in the Revolutionary Events in Cuba

By G. SINANI

THE revolutionary events in Cuba after the military revolt, which overthrew the Cespedes government, have entered a new phase which demands that the Communist Party of Cuba show the greatest flexibility and a combination of enormous revolutionary activity to overcome its lagging behind the course of events.

One of the special features of the development of the revolution in Cuba is the combination of internal conditions, which on the whole are taking a favorable course, with the extremely serious international difficulties which arise from the closeness of the powerful imperialism of the U. S. A., which is economically and strategically greatly interested in maintaining the semi-colonial situation of Cuba.

By the middle of August the internal conditions in Cuba had taken the following form on the whole:

The proletariat, both in the towns and in the countryside, carried on an active aggressive struggle to improve their situation. Their struggle was by no means restricted to economic demands. The revolutionary struggle of the Cuban proletariat (strikes, demonstrations, street fighting with the police) dealt the chief blow at the dictatorship of Machado. But the Cuban working class was not inclined to stop its revolutionary offensive after Machado had been replaced by Cespedes and after Cespedes had been replaced by San Martin. It continued to strike, demanding and securing increased wages (*e.g.*, the dock strike at Havana). In this connection, it made a wider practice of seizing the factories with the aim of forcing the employers to grant its demands. Partly by strikes and partly by direct action, it secured the open existence of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions which had recently been driven deeply underground. It carried on a struggle to get possession of the local government organs, trying to make them really democratic. Finally, it was the working class which took the initiative and led the anti-imperialist movement of the broad toiling masses, especially against the danger of intervention by the U. S.

Together with the growth of the revolutionary activity of the working class, its organization increased. New trade unions were formed and the old ones enlarged. Factory committees and plantation committees were organized. Various trade union conferences

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were prepared to form national trade union centers. A second conference of the sugar workers (workers in the factories and plantations) was held.

In all this, the influence and significance of the revolutionary unions rapidly increased. Under the general leadership of the Communist Party they showed ever greater activity (the leadership of the strike movement). A rapid leftward swing took place among the masses in the reformist trade unions (railway men, tobacco workers, etc.). Ever more favorable conditions were formed not only for widening our influence in the reformist unions, but also for winning them over.

The influence of the Communist Party greatly increased. By its active leading participation in the revolutionary movement of the working class against Machado—a tremendous impulse for its development was the August First campaign of the Communist Party—and in the subsequent struggles of the proletariat to improve their situation, the Communist Party showed its fighting powers, its close contacts with the masses and its ability to lead them. At the same time, the Communist Party of Cuba has not yet overcome its organizational lagging behind its growing political influence, and even this influence is lagging considerably behind the possibilities which are being created by the rapid development of the revolutionary crisis.

In the course of these events, when the proletariat of Cuba had won freedom of organization and struggle, it rapidly became an armed class, building up armed bands of workers' self-defense both spontaneously and under the leadership of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions.

There is no doubt that the disarming of the police, the seizure of police stations, small warehouses, etc., gave the workers a large number of weapons which it is naturally impossible to estimate under the present conditions.

The peasants, who were crushed by the ruling semi-feudal relations which dominated both in the estates of the Cuban landlords and in the possessions of the American sugar companies, etc., and the banks, and who were being ruined under the blows of the crisis and the attacks of the local ruling classes and imperialism, began to get into more and more revolutionary motion. The struggle against the landlords, the American land-owning companies and the bloody regime of Machado who stood on guard to protect the semi-feudal robbery of the peasants, even at the beginning of 1933 led to a series of peasant revolts (the provinces of Orienta, Camaguey and especially Santa Clara). These revolts were crushed with ruthless violence. The punitive expeditions took no prisoners, hanging and shooting everyone whom they caught. But in all these provinces the

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struggle of guerilla bands continued up until the fall of Machado.

At the present time the abolition of the military and police terror has opened up tremendous possibilities for the rapid growth and the further revolutionizing of the peasant movement. At present we possess less information on the concrete facts of the revolutionary struggle in the villages than about the movement of the working class. But even the information on hand shows that the agrarian revolution is *beginning* in Cuba. In a number of places the peasants are seizing and dividing the land, cattle and implements of the landlords.

Before the fall of Machado, the peasant movement, which on the whole was a spontaneous movement and only in a few districts was under the direct leadership of the Communist Party, to a certain degree was also led by the bourgeois-landlord "national opposition" which tried to use it as a basis to overthrow Machado. Even at that time, the peasant movement frequently overflowed the banks of the "purely political" struggle against the Machado regime in which the "opposition" tried to keep it (*e.g.*, the looting of the estate of Menocal, leader of the opposition, by the peasants).

There is no doubt that at the present time all the bourgeois and bourgeois-landlord organizations consider the revolution to have been completed by the overthrow of Machado, whereas in reality it has only just begun.

They will try and are already trying to wind up the peasant movement at the exact time when it is stormily rising, when it is taking on an ever clearer character of a revolution of the poor and middle peasants and the farm hands against semi-feudal exploitation, against the rule of the landlords and imperialism. But this in itself creates ever more favorable conditions for the extension of the influence of the Communist Party to the villages. The Communist Party is calling on the peasants to refuse to pay rent and debts and to seize the lands of the landlords. Ever more favorable conditions are rising for the political unity of the toiling peasants around the slogan of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' government, which alone is able to guarantee their land demands, etc.

The peasant movement is growing further into an agrarian revolution. Evidently it is still mainly spontaneous and unorganized. But at the same time there is an undoubted growth of the significance of the peasant committees of struggle and the League of Revolutionary Peasants, which were formed at the initiative of the Communist Party.

Finally, the peasants are becoming better armed owing to the disarming of the village police, the guards of the landlords' estates, the plantations, etc. The Communist Party of Cuba is organizing

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peasant self-defense detachments, also making wide use of the existing guerilla detachments for this purpose.

In the towns there is an increased revolutionary movement among the poorest strata of the petty urban bourgeoisie, which is expressed, for instance, in the revolutionizing of the left wing of the students (the so-called reorganization committee). Its chief political slogan is at present the struggle for the independence of Cuba, the struggle against the imperialism of the U. S. A., against any attempts at intervention, no matter under what pretext. In Havana and other towns of Cuba, armed bands of students are being formed precisely for the struggle against possible intervention. At the same time, in the process of the split from the A.B.C. and other petty-bourgeois and bourgeois-landlord organizations which do not wish to struggle against the imperialism of the U. S. A., there are ever clearer tendencies for the anti-imperialist revolutionary student movement to draw nearer to the Communist Party, which is faced with the responsible task of getting the leadership of them.

Finally, in estimating the immediate perspectives of the development of the revolutionary movement in Cuba, the processes which are taking place in the army are of exceptional importance.

There is no doubt that the refusal of the officers to make wide use of the army for the armed suppression of the anti-Machado revolution was not the result of a sudden growth of the sympathy of the officers towards the anti-Machado groupings of landlords and bourgeoisie but was above all the result of their fear of the masses of soldiers, an indirect proof of their growing politicalization and sympathy towards the general revolutionary movement. The further events—the revolt of the soldiers under the leadership of the petty-bourgeois non-commissioned officers against the government of the agent of the U. S. A., Cespedes, and the arrest of Machado officers by the soldiers—speak plainly enough of the awakening of political consciousness and the growing political activity of the soldier masses.

The army is *beginning* to pass over to the side of the revolutionary people. The armed resistance of the ruling classes is weakening. Ever more favorable circumstances are rising for the development of the revolution.

An exceptionally important and urgent task of the Communist Party is to deepen the process of political radicalization which has begun in the army, to support the demands put forward by the soldiers and sailors, and by practical direct action to break up the old barrack discipline, to hold elections of soldiers' committees and officers, in order to widen and consolidate the transition *which has commenced* in the army to the side of the revolutionary people.

The development of the revolutionary offensive of the working

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class and the poor and middle peasants, the growth of the anti-imperialist movement among some of the urban petty-bourgeoisie and the increasing unrest in the army will undoubtedly be opposed by the united front of the right and "left" bourgeois-landlord and bourgeois groups, the petty-bourgeois organizations (A.B.C., O.S.R.R., etc.) which are under their influence, and finally by American imperialism.

The American ambassador in Cuba, Welles, is working feverishly to build up this counter-revolutionary bloc. At the present moment the bloc has not yet been formed. The Machadists and anti-Machadists are in a state of open warfare against each other and the A.B.C. has only just been driven from power by a soldiers' revolt which compelled the "left bourgeois" group of two professors, a lawyer, an author and a banker, to become the government. The "national" opposition is a conglomerate of bourgeois-landlord cliques competing against each other. However, what Welles could not do at the beginning of July, when he was trying to bring about an agreement between the Machadists and their bourgeois-landlord opponents to avert the impending revolution, he may very possibly be able to do now, when the revolution has already begun and is threatening the basic interests of the Cuban landlords, bourgeoisie and American imperialism.

Thus the present state of affairs in Cuba is characterized by a definite change in the relationship of forces between classes, their *new* distribution, very different from those which existed under the dictatorship of Machado.

In Havana, at any rate, the "lefts" still remain in power, but they are still the undoubted representatives of the exploiting classes who are feeling out the possibilities of agreement with the imperialism of the U. S. A. behind the backs of the masses and at the cost of some small concessions on its part. They were spontaneously carried to power on the crest of the revolutionary wave and they fear very much any further development of the revolution. But while remaining formally the government, they have not the power in their hands to the full extent. The army has to a great degree been torn from the hands of the exploiting classes. For this very reason *at the present time* they are not in a position to start in practice to crush widely the growing revolution, in spite of their hatred towards it. For this reason it is possible that there will be a rapid growth of the workers' and peasants' movement, against which the "left bourgeois" government cannot *yet* make up its mind to use military and police repression (in any case to the extent which would be necessary to suppress it).

But at the same time the forces of the revolution are as yet far from being consolidated.

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The influence of the Communist Party has increased tremendously. It is rapidly moving towards the winning over of the majority of the working class, but very important detachments of this class (*e.g.*, the railway men) are still on the whole under the influence of the reformists. *The agrarian peasant revolution has begun but has not yet developed.* The basic masses of the villages have not yet been drawn into it. The elements of spontaneity still predominate in the peasant movement. It is characterized by great inequalities in various provinces and districts. The influence of the Communist Party is growing. Its slogans are mobilizing the peasants to the struggle. But the Party *has not yet won the hegemony of the proletariat over the poor and middle peasants.*

The Communist Party of Cuba at the present moment stands still further from the winning of the hegemony of the proletariat over the lowest and most exploited and politically downtrodden strata of the urban petty-bourgeoisie, who are as yet only being drawn into the movement under anti-imperialist slogans and for whose support of the agrarian peasant revolution it is still necessary to carry on a stubborn and energetic struggle. The army has broken away from the hands of the exploiting classes, but *its transition to the side of the masses of the people is not yet firm, has not been consolidated.*

The continued *lagging of the Communist Party behind the possibilities which are arising together with the spontaneous efforts of the masses,* which is exceptionally dangerous at the present moment, is shown with sufficient clearness by the formation of the "professor-banker" government of San Martin (which in practice is undoubtedly connected with the landlords) as the result of the soldiers' movement against the government of Cespedes which was "legally elected" by the imperialism of the U.S.A.

In short, at the present time (in the middle of September) the revolutionary movement of workers and peasants is rapidly rising, but both its level and especially its subjective factor, *i.e.*, the Communist Party, do not *yet* ensure the possibility of directly bringing about the *revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants.* At the same time, counter-revolution is now, after the overthrow of Cespedes, trying to pass from the condition of progressively disorganized power to a state of stability, collecting all its forces under the auspices of the American Consul acting behind the scenes. But at the present moment it is not *yet* able to undertake a wide offensive.

There is no doubt that this situation is fraught with extreme dangers. Between the revolution and the counter-revolution there is taking place a competition to win tempo for rallying and consolidating their forces. The question of the initiative in the forthcoming

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class struggles for power depends on the winning of this tempo.

It is difficult to doubt that in the very near future in Cuba there will very probably be various counter-revolutionary actions, for example, on the part of the reactionary groups of officers or the A.B.C. There is no doubt that North American imperialism, which, for reasons of foreign policy, would like to avoid open armed intervention in Cuba, is not only building up a counter-revolutionary bloc of varied cliques of the Cuban ruling classes, but is also prepared to give material support (in arms and money) and to assist any counter-revolutionary organization or action.

In Havana itself, there are 300 well-armed officers, driven out of the army by the soldiers, who continue to occupy one of the central hotels, gathering in it under the wing of Welles, who lives there. They are not only hostile to the workers' and peasants' movement but also to the government of San Martin, demanding the restoration of Cespedes. With the aim of preventing their armed action, the hotel is blockaded by bands of soldiers with machine guns. The A.B.C. has still armed bands which are already trying to terrorize the revolutionary mass movement in a number of districts of Cuba. The newspapers give information of a number of cases in which the soldiers of various small units and the police have shot at demonstrations. It is plain that counter-revolution is by no means disarmed, that the ruling classes on the whole have not lost the leadership of the government apparatus of violence.

At the present time it is very probable that there will be attempts on the part of the San Martin government openly to crush the revolutionary movement, and also attempts on the part of the bourgeois-landlord groups who are most closely connected with the U. S. A. to overthrow the San Martin government with the aim of establishing an open counter-revolutionary dictatorship.

The situation of the San Martin government is becoming more and more unstable. The presidential palace is guarded day and night by machine-gun posts. According to the latest information, San Martin himself has already informed the political groups which support him of his resignation.

Nevertheless, the present situation in Cuba is noteworthy precisely as a *transition* situation, and it will not be solved by a simple seizure of the "central" power in Havana by any reactionary organization supported by the U. S. A. One of the manifestations of this *transitional* situation is the fact that the scope of the power of the "central" government was tremendously reduced together with the commencement of the passing of the army to the side of the revolutionary people (which is only *commencing*).

Into the revolutionary movement which is ever widening and accelerating, the basic masses of the proletariat and the peasants

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have come. The question of the further development of the Cuban anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution, bourgeois-democratic at its first stage, can only be solved in mass fights. The internal conditions, as we have seen, are undoubtedly favorable at the present moment for rallying the majority of the proletariat around the Communist Party and for the winning of the leadership in the peasant revolution, *i.e.*, for forming the conditions which are most favorable for the victory of the revolution. The situation in the army, which is becoming more and more difficult for the exploiting class to utilize against the revolution, increases these chances many times.

In these circumstances, the question of the open armed intervention of the U. S. A. and the time when it will take place becomes of exceptional and decisive importance.

In mobilizing and organizing the masses for the struggle, leading their revolutionary actions, struggling for influence on the soldiers of the old army and building up the armed forces of the workers and peasants, the Communist Party of Cuba is striving to do everything possible to avert intervention and to create the greatest possible forces for resistance to it, if it nevertheless takes place.

But this is only possible by means of concessions to the imperialism of the U.S.A., at the price of which the Cuban toiling masses under the leadership of the Communist Party will try to buy off intervention. It is precisely with this aim, while carrying on the most energetic campaign explaining the increasing danger of intervention and mobilizing the masses in the struggle against it, that the C. P. Cuba tries to direct the chief blow of the revolutionary masses above all against the local Cuban ruling classes.

It is precisely with this aim, while extending the struggle of the working class for the improvement of its situation and winning the leadership of this struggle, that the Communist Party of Cuba considers it inadvisable for the workers to seize the American enterprises, and puts forward the slogan of workers' control carried out through factory committees (if there are revolutionary conditions) which can secure the satisfaction of the demands of the workers.

Precisely with this aim, while organizing the peasants, winning the leadership of their struggle and leading them to the immediate revolutionary seizure of the land of the Cuban landlords, the Communist Party of Cuba considers it inadvisable to force ahead the seizure of plantations belonging to American capital, and fights above all for considerable reductions of the rent of this land, for the annulment of all the old debts of the peasants and an improvement in the situation of the agricultural workers.

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Precisely with this aim, while striving to do everything possible to avert intervention, the Communist Party of Cuba considers it advisable for the workers' and peasants' government, if it should be formed, to enter into negotiations with the government of the U.S.A. on the conditions of nationalization of big foreign property, while not abandoning this nationalization, *i.e.*, it allows the possibility of buying out this property. With the same aim, the Communist Party of Cuba allows the possibility of retaining American ownership to some extent in the form of concessions, as to the conditions of which as well as the conditions on which the property will be bought out (amount, forms and date of payment, etc.) negotiations will have to be carried on between the future revolutionary government of Cuba and the government of the U. S. A.

While seeing in advance the possibility and necessity of making these concessions to imperialism to ensure the easiest and most rapid victory of the revolution, the Communist Party of Cuba considers that their advisability will be quite clear and understandable for the broad toiling masses of Cuba if suitable explanations are made.

There is no doubt that such a position of the Communist Party in case the U.S.A. refuses to negotiate on these concessions in spite of the open expression of the readiness of the workers' and peasants' revolutionary government and in case of attempts at armed intervention, will help to organize a real nation-wide armed resistance to the interventionists.

We have already mentioned that, for international reasons, the imperialism of the U.S.A. would obviously like to avoid armed intervention in Cuba. This is shown plainly enough if only by the statement of Roosevelt to the ambassadors of the countries of South and Caribbean America who were specially invited to the White House for this purpose.

It would mean a tremendous outburst of anti-American feelings in all the countries of South and Caribbean America, a strengthening of English influence and partly of Japanese influence and a breakdown of the plans for subordinating South and Caribbean America to itself with which the U.S.A. is preparing the December Pan-American Congress in Montevideo. The London *Times* openly writes that the success of the negotiations of the U.S.A. with Argentina and Brazil on the signing of commercial agreements depends on whether it can solve the Cuban crisis without intervention.

At the same time, open intervention by the U.S.A. in Cuba would be utilized by Japan as "moral" justification of its annexationist policy in Manchuria and would give it a strong weapon for

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anti-American propaganda in China, Mexico and other countries. Naturally, the U.S.A. would like to avoid all this.

For this reason it is trying and evidently will continue in the future to try to organize the suppression of the Cuban revolution by the hands of the local ruling classes, whose chief adviser and leader on counter-revolutionary matters at the present time is precisely the American Ambassador in Cuba, Welles. However, if the line marked out by the Communist Party of Cuba for the development of the revolutionary movement which was spoken of above is energetically carried out, these attempts can be defeated.

The U.S.A. will then have to chose between the partial agreement with the revolutionary government of Cuba as proposed by the Communist Party of Cuba and open intervention. But, as the experience of little Nicaragua, which has not a mass Communist Party, showed, this is by no means an easy task even for powerful American imperialism, and the unfavorable international results of which are evidently well considered by the U.S.A.

In pointing out these tactics, the operation of which requires from the Party great flexibility and the ability to explain it to the broad toiling masses, the Communist Party of Cuba correctly takes account of the difficulties of American imperialism and bases its line on the thorough mastering of the international experience of the revolutionary proletariat, in particular the experience of the U.S.S.R. and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In the present international conditions, when the guns of the American warships constitute the chief and fundamental menace for the Cuban revolution, the Communist Party of Cuba correctly combines the policy of the greatest activity in the development of the revolution, in the organization of the workers, peasants and soldiers, in the struggle to disintegrate the old bourgeois-landlord army and create the armed forces of the revolutionary workers and peasants, with the tactics of making the necessary concessions to imperialism.

Only in this way is it possible to ensure the formation of a workers' and peasants' government which really relies on the masses. Only on the basis of these tactics can the Communist Party of Cuba do everything in its power to avert intervention and to organize really nation-wide armed resistance to it if the U.S.A. nevertheless undertakes it.

The chief and fundamental guarantee for the success of these tactics is the organizational, ideological and political strengthening of the Party itself, the extension of its mass influence, the creation of the greatest confidence in it among the masses, and the winning of the leadership in the revolutionary fights which are developing.

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How Lenin Studied Marx

By N. KRUPSKAYA

OWING to the backwardness of industry in Russia, the workers' movement only began to develop in the 90's, when the revolutionary struggle of the working class was already taking place in a number of other countries. There had already been the experience of the great French Revolution, the experience of the revolution of 1848, the experience of the Paris Commune in 1871. The great ideological leaders of the workers' movement—Marx and Engels—were forged out in the fire of the revolutionary struggle. The teachings of Marx showed the direction taken by social development, the inevitability of the disintegration of capitalist society, the replacement of this society by Communist society, the paths which will be taken by the new social forms, the path of the class struggle, and disclosed the role of the proletariat in this struggle, and the inevitability of its victory.

Our workers' movement developed under the banner of Marxism. It did not grow blindly, groping its way, but its aim and its path were plain.

Lenin did a tremendous amount to illuminate the path of struggle of the Russian proletariat with the light of Marxism. Fifty years have passed since the death of Marx, but for our Party Marxism is still the guide to action. Leninism is merely a further development of Marxism, a deepening of it.

It is therefore obvious why it is of such great interest to illuminate the question of Lenin's research on Marx.

Lenin had a wonderful knowledge of Marx and Engels. In 1893, when he came to St. Petersburg, he astonished all of us who were Marxists at the time with his tremendous knowledge of the works of Marx and Engels.

In the 90's, when Marxist circles began to be formed, it was chiefly the first volume of *Capital* which was studied. It was possible to obtain *Capital*, although with great difficulties. But matters were extremely bad with regard to the other works of Marx. Most of the members of the circles had not even read the *Communist Manifesto*. I, for example, read it for the first time only in 1898, in German, when I was in exile.

Marx and Engels were absolutely prohibited. It is sufficient to mention that in 1897 in his article "The Characteristics of Economic Romanticism" written for *Novoyo Slovo*, Lenin was com-

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pelled to avoid using the words "Marx" and "Marxism" and to speak of Marx in a round-about way so as not to get the journal into trouble.

Lenin understood foreign languages, and he did his best to dig out everything that he could by Marx and Engels in German and French. Anna Ilyinishna, his sister, tells how he read *The Poverty of Philosophy* in French together with his sister Olga. He had to read most in German. He translated into Russian for himself the most important parts of the works of Marx and Engels which interested him.

In his first big work, published illegally by him in 1894, *Who Are the Friends of the People?* there are quotations from the *Communist Manifesto*, the *Critique of Political Economy*, the *Poverty of Philosophy*, *German Ideology*, "The Letter of Marx to Ruge" in 1843, Engels' books, *Anti-Deuhring*, *Origin of the Family*, *Private Property and the State*.

The book *Who Are the Friends of the People* tremendously widened the Marxist outlook of the majority of the then Marxists, who as yet had very little acquaintance with the works of Marx, and dealt with a number of questions in an entirely new way and was tremendously successful.

In the next work of Lenin, "The Economic Content of the Teachings of the Narodniki and the Criticism of Them in the Book of Struve," we find already references to *Eighteenth Brumaire* and the *Civil War in France*, to the *Criticism of the Gotha Program* and the second and third volumes of *Capital*.

Later, life in emigration enabled Lenin to become acquainted with all the works of Marx and Engels and to study them.

The biography of Marx written by Lenin in 1914 for *Granat's Encyclopedia* illustrates better than anything else Lenin's wonderful knowledge of the works of Marx.

This is also shown by the innumerable extracts from Marx which Lenin constantly made when reading his works. The Lenin Institute has many notebooks with extracts from Marx.

Lenin used these extracts in his work, read them over and over and made notes of them. *But Lenin not only knew Marx, he thought deeply on all his teachings.* In his speech at the Third All Russian Congress of the Young Communist League in 1920, Lenin said to the youth that it was necessary—

> " . . . to acquire the whole sum of human knowledge and to acquire it in such a way that Communism will not be something learned by heart but something which you have thought out yourselves, something which forms the inevitable conclusion from the point of view of modern education." (Volume XXV.)
>
> "If a Communist were to boast of Communism on the basis of ready-made conclusions, without doing serious, big and difficult

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> work, without thoroughly understanding the facts towards which he must take a critical attitude, such a Communist would be a very poor one." (Volume XXV.)

Lenin not only studied the works of Marx but he studied what was written about Marx and Marxism by the opponents from the camp of the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie. In a polemic with them he explains the basic positions of Marxism.

His first big work was *Who Are the Friends of the People?* and how they fight against the social democrats (a reply to an article in *Russkoye Bogatstwo* against the Marxists), where he drew a contrast between the point of view of the Narodniki (Mikhailovsky, Krivenko, Yushakova) and the point of view of Marx.

In the article, "The Economic Content of the Teachings of the Narodniki, and the Criticism of Them in the Book of Struve," he pointed out in what way the point of view of Struve was distinguished from the point of view of Marx.

When studying the agrarian question, he wrote a work, *The Agrarian Question and the Criticism of Marx* (Volume IV), where the petty bourgeois point of view of the social democrats David, Hertz, and the Russian critics Chernov and Bulgakov was contrasted to the point of view of Marx.

"*De choc des opinions jaillit la verite*" (Truth arises from a conflict of opinions) says the French proverb. Lenin loved to carry it out. He constantly brought to light and contrasted class points of view on the basic questions of the workers' movement.

It is very characteristic how Lenin set forth various points of view side by side. A great deal of light is thrown on this by the XIX volume of Lenin's works, where the extracts, concepts, plans for essays, etc., on the agrarian question for the period preceding 1917 are collected.

Lenin carefully recapitulates the statements of the "critics," selects and writes out the clearest and most characteristic places and counterposes them to the statements of Marx. In carefully analyzing the statements of the "critics," he tries to show the class essence of their statements, putting forward the most important and urgent questions in prominent relief.

Lenin very frequently *deliberately sharpened a question.* He considered that the tone was not the important thing. You may express yourself coarsely and bitingly. What is important is that you speak to the point. In the preface to Marx's correspondence with F. A. Sorge, he gives a quotation from Mehring (der Sorgesche Briefwechsel):

> "Mehring is right in saying that Marx and Engels gave little thought to a 'high tone'. They did not stop long to think before dealing a blow, but they did not whine about every blow they received." (Volume XI.)

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Incisiveness of form and style were natural to Lenin. He learned it from Marx. He says:

> "Marx relates how he and Engels fought constantly against the 'miserable' leadership of the 'Social Democracy' and often fought sharply."

Lenin did not fear sharpness, but he demanded that objections should be to the point. Lenin had one favorite word which he frequently used, "quibbling." If a polemic began which was not to the point, if people began to pick at trifles or juggle with facts, he used to say: "that is mere quibbling." Lenin expressed himself with still greater force against polemics which had not the aim of bringing clearness into the question but of paying off small factional grudges. This was the favorite method of the Mensheviki. Concealing themselves behind quotations from Marx and Engels, taken out of their context, out of the circumstances in which they were written, they served factional aims, entirely. In the preface to the Russian translation of Marx's correspondence with F. A. Sorge, Lenin wrote:

> "To imagine that this advice of Marx and Engels with reference to the Anglo-American workers' movement can be simply and directly adapted to Russian conditions means to utilize Marxism not for the clarification of his *method*, not for the study of concrete historic peculiarities of the workers' movement in definite countries, for petty factional quarrels of the intelligentsia." (Volume XI.)

Here we arrive directly at the question of how Lenin studied Marx. This can partly be seen from the previous quotation: It is necessary to elucidate the method of Marx, to learn from Marx how to study the peculiarities of the workers' movement in definite countries. Lenin did this. For Lenin the teachings of Marx were a guide to action. He once used the following expression: "He who wants to get advice from Marx. . ." It is a very characteristic expression. He himself constantly took advice from Marx. At the most difficult turning points of the revolution, he again and again turned to Marx. Sometimes when you went into his room, when everyone around was excited, Lenin was reading Marx and could hardly tear himself away. It was not to soothe his nerves, not to arm himself with belief in the power of working class, belief in its ultimate victory. Lenin had sufficient of this faith. He buried himself in Marx so as to "get advice" from Marx, to find a reply from him to the burning questions of the workers' movement.

In the article "F. Mehring on the Second Duma," Lenin wrote:

> "The argumentation of such people is based on a poor selection of quotation: They take the general position on the support

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> of the big bourgeoisie against the reactionary petty bourgeoisie and without criticism apply it to the Russian Cadets and the Russian Revolution. Mehring gives these people a good lesson. *Anyone who wants to take advice from Marx* (my italics—N. K.) on the tasks of the proletariat in the bourgeois revolution must take the statements of Marx which apply precisely to the epoch of the German bourgeois revolution. It is not an accident that our Mensheviki so fearfully avoid these statements. We see in them the fullest and clearest expression of the merciless struggle carried on by the Russian Bolsheviki in the Russian bourgeois revolution against the compromising bourgeoisie." (Volume XI.)

Lenin's method was to take the works of Marx dealing with a *similar situation* and carefully analyze them, compare them with the actual moment, discovering resemblances and differences. The application of this method to the revolution of 1905 to 1907 best of all illustrates how Lenin did this.

In the pamphlet, *What Is to Be Done?* in 1902, Lenin wrote:

> "History now puts before us an immediate task which is the most revolutionary of all the immediate tasks of the proletariat of all other countries. The carrying out of this task, the destruction of the most powerful support not only for European but also (we may now say) Asiatic reaction, would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat." (Volume IV.)

We know that the revolutionary struggle of 1905 raised the international role of the Russian working class, while the overthrow of the Tsarist Monarchy in 1917 really made the Russian proletariat into the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat, but this took place only 15 years after *What Is to Be Done?* was written. When in 1905, after the shooting of the workers on January 9, the revolutionary wave from the Dvortsoff Square began to rise higher and higher, the question urgently arose as to where the Party must lead the masses, what policy it must follow. And here Lenin took advice from Marx. He studied with special attention the works of Marx dealing with the French and German bourgeois democratic revolutions of 1848: *The Class Struggles in France* and the third volume of *The Posthumous Writings of Marx and Engels*, published by F. Mehring and dealing with the German revolution.

In June-July, 1905, Lenin wrote a pamphlet, *The Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, where the tactic of the Mensheviki, who took the line of compromise with the liberal bourgeoisie, was contrasted to the tactics of the Bolsheviki, who called on the working class to carry on a most determined and irreconcilable struggle against the Monarchy to the point of armed rebellion.

It was necessary to put an end to Tsarism, wrote Lenin in *Two Tactics*:

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> "The conference (of the New Iskraites) also forgot that as long as the power remains in the hands of the Tsar, any decisions of any representatives remain empty talk and just as pitiful as the 'decisions' of the Frankfurt parliament are famous in the history of the German Revolution of 1848. For this very reason Marx in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* mercilessly poured sarcasm on the liberal Frankfurt 'liberators' because they spoke excellent words, adopted all kinds of democratic 'decisions,' 'established' all kinds of freedom, but in reality left the power in the hands of the Monarchy, and did not organize the armed struggle against the troops of the monarchy. And while the Frankfurt liberators chattered the king waited for his time to come, strengthened his military forces, and counter-revolution, relying on real force, overthrew the democrats with all their beautiful decisions." (Volume VIII.)

Lenin raised the question whether it would be possible for the bourgeoisie to destroy the Russian Revolution by an agreement with Tsarism, "or, as Marx said at one time, settling with Tsarism in a 'plebian' manner."

> "When the decisive victory of the revolution is accomplished, we shall settle with Tsarism in a Jacobin, or if you will, in a plebian manner. The whole of French terrorism, wrote Marx in the famous *Neue Reinische Zeitung* in 1848, was nothing else but the plebian manner of settling with enemies of the bourgeoisie, with absolutism, feudalism and the philistines." (See Marx' *Posthumous Writings* published by Mehring.) " . . . Did those people who frightened the social democratic Russian workers with the bogey of 'Jacobianism' in the epoch of the democratic revolution ever think of the meaning of these words of Marx?" (Volume VIII.)

The Mensheviki said that their tactics were "to remain the Party of the extreme revolutionary opposition," and that this did not exclude partial seizures of power from time to time and the formation of revolutionary communes in one town or another. What does "revolutionary communes" mean, asks Lenin, and replies:

> "The confusion of revolutionary thought leads them (the new Iskraites), as often happens, to revolutionary phrases. The use of the words, 'Revolutionary commune' in the resolution of representatives of social democracy is a revolutionary phrase and nothing more. Marx more than once condemned such phrases, when the tasks of the future are concealed behind soothing terms of the dead past. The fascination of terms which have played a role in history is converted in such cases into an empty and harmful tinsel, into a rattle. We must give to the workers and to the whole people a clear and unmistakable idea of why we want to establish a provisional revolutionary government. What changes exactly we shall carry out if we decisively influence the power, even tomorrow, if the national revolt which has commenced is victorious. These are the questions which face the political leaders." (Volume VIII.)

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> "These vulgarizers of Marxism never gave thought to the words of Marx on the necessity of replacing the weapon of criticism by criticism with weapons. Using the name of Marx everywhere, they in reality draw up a tactical resolution entirely in the spirit of the Frankfurt bourgeois cacklers, freely criticising absolutism, deepening democratic consciousness, and not understanding that the time of revolution is a time of action, both from above and below." (Volume VIII.)

"Revolutions are the locomotives of history," says Marx. By this reference to Marx Lenin appraises the role of the revolution that was developing.

In his further analysis of the statements of Karl Marx in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Lenin makes clear what revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry is. But in drawing the analogy, Lenin dwells also on the question in what our bourgeois democratic revolution differs from the German bourgeois democratic revolution of 1848. He says:

> "Thus it was only in April, 1849, after the revolutionary newspaper (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung* which had been published since June 1, 1848) had existed almost a year, that Marx and Engels expressed themselves in favor of a separate labor organization. Hitherto they simply conducted the 'organ of democracy' which was not connected by any organizational link with an independent labor party. This fact—monstrous and improbable from our contemporary point of view—shows us clearly what an enormous difference there was between the then German and the present Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. This fact shows us how much weaker were in the German democratic revolution (owing to the backwardness of Germany in 1848, economically and politically—absence of state unity) the proletarian features of the movement, the proletarian tendency in them."

Particularly interesting are Lenin's articles written in 1907 on the correspondence and activity of Marx.

They are "The Preface to the Translation of K. Marx's Letters to K. L. Kugelmann," "Fr. Mehring About the Second Duma," and "The Preface to the Letters to F. A. Sorge." These articles throw a particularly vivid light on the method which Lenin applied to the study of Marx. The last article is of exceptional interest. It was written in the period when Lenin had taken up once more seriously the study of philosophy, in connection with his divergencies with Bogdanov, when the issues of dialectical materialism called for his special attention.

While studying simultaneously also the statements of Marx referring to questions analogous to those which arose among us in connection with the defeat of the revolution, and questions of dialectical and historical materialism, Lenin learned from Marx

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how to apply to the study of historical development the method of dialectical materialism.

In the "Preface to the Letters to F. A. Sorge" he wrote:

> "A comparison of what Marx and Engels had to say on questions of the Anglo-American and German labor movements is very instructive. If one takes into consideration that Germany, on the one hand, and Great Britain and America, on the other, represent different stages of capitalist development, different forms of the rule of the bourgeoisie as a class, in the whole political life of these countries, the said comparison assumes special significance. From the scientific point of view, we have here a sample of materialistic dialectic, ability to bring forward and emphasize different points, different sides of the question in their application to the concrete peculiarities of various political and economic conditions. From the point of view of practical politics and tactics of the Labor Party, we have here a sample of the manner in which the creators of the *Communist Manifesto* defined the task of the struggling proletariat as applied to the various phases of the national labor movement of the various countries." (Volume XI.)

The revolution of 1905 brought to the fore a whole series of new essential questions during the solution of which Lenin went more deeply into the works of Karl Marx. The Leninist method (Marxist through and through) of studying Marx was forged in the fire of the revolution.

This method of studying Marx armed Lenin for struggle against the distortions of Marxism with their emasculation of its revolutionary essence. We know what an important part Lenin's book *State and Revolution* has played in the organizing of the October Revolution and Soviet power. This book is based entirely on deep study of Marx's revolutionary teachings about the State.

> "Marx's doctrines are now undergoing the same fate which, more than once in the course of history, has befallen the doctrines of other revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes struggling for emancipation. During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes have invariably meted out to them relentless persecution, and received their teachings with the most savage hostility, most furious hatred and a ruthless campaign of lies and slanders. After their death, however, attempts are usually made to turn them into harmless saints, canonizing them, as it were, and investing their name with a certain halo by way of 'consolation' to the oppressed classes, and with the object of duping them, while at the same time emasculating and vulgarizing the real essence of their revolutionary theories and blunting their revolutionary edge. At the present time the bourgeoisie and the opportunists within the labor movement are cooperating in this work of adulterating Marxism. They omit, obliterate, and distort the revolutionary side of its teaching, its revolutionary soul, and push to the foreground and extol what is, or seems, acceptable to the bourgeoisie. All the socialist chauvinists are now "Marxists"—save the

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mark! And more and more do German bourgeois professors, erstwhile specialists in the demolition of Marx, speak now of the 'National-German' Marx who, forsooth, has educated the splendidly organized working class for the present predatory war.

"In these circumstances, when the distortion of Marxism is so widespread, our first task is to resuscitate the real nature of Marx's teachings on the subject of the State." (*State and Revolution*, page 1.)

In *The Questions of Leninism* Comrade Stalin wrote:

"Only in the next period, the period of open demonstrations of the proletariat, in the period of the proletarian revolution, when the question of overthrow had become a practical question, when the question of the reserves of the proletariat (strategy) had become one of the most vital questions, when all the forms of struggle and organization—in and outside parliament (tactic)—had become very definite,—only in that period was it possible to fully work out the strategy and tactic of the struggle of the proletariat. *The ingenious ideas of Marx and Engels regarding tactic and strategy, immured by the opportunists of the Second International, were brought to light by Lenin in that very period.*" (Italics mine—N. K.)

"But Lenin did not confine himself to reestablishing individual tactical propositions of Marx and Engels. He developed them further and supplemented them by new ideas and propositions, creating out of all this a system of rules and leading principles for the conduct of the class struggle of the proletariat. Such pamphlets of Lenin as *What Is to Be Done? Two Tactics, Imperialism, State and Revolution, Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* and *Left Wing Communism* will no doubt be a most valuable contribution to the common treasure house of Marxism, to its revolutionary arsenal. The strategy and tactic of Leninism is a science regarding the leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat." (J. Stalin, *Questions of Leninism.*)

Marx and Engels said that their teaching is not a dogma, but guidance to action. These words of theirs were continually repeated by Lenin. The method by which he studied the works of Marx and Engels, and revolutionary practice, all the circumstances of the epoch proletarian revolutions helped Lenin to convert just the revolutionary side of Marx's teachings into real guidance to action.

I shall dwell on a question which is of decisive significance. Not so long ago we celebrated the fifteenth anniversary of the Soviet Power. And in this connection we called to mind how the seizure of power was organized in October. It was not a spontaneous act, it was deeply thought out by Lenin, who was guided by Marx's direct instructions regarding the organizing of an uprising.

The October Revolution, by placing dictatorship into the hands of the proletariat, radically changed all the conditions of struggle,

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but only because Lenin was guided not by the letter of the teachings of Marx and Engels, but by their revolutionary essence, because he knew how to apply Marxism also to the building up of Socialism in the epoch of proletarian dictatorship.

I shall dwell on only a few points. Thorough research work is necessary here: select everything that was taken by Lenin from Marx and Engels, indicating in what periods and in connection with what tasks of the revolutionary movement. I have not even mentioned such important questions as the national question, imperialism, etc. The publication of Lenin's complete collected works makes this work easier. Lenin's method of studying Marx in all the phases of revolutionary struggle from beginning to end will help us to understand better and go deeper not only into Marx, but into Lenin himself, into his method of studying Marx and the method of converting Marx's teachings into guidance to action.

There is one more side of Lenin's study of Marx which must be mentioned owing to its great significance. Lenin did not only study what Marx and Engels wrote, but also what Marx's "critics" wrote about him, he also studied the way which led Marx to his various views, and the works and books which stimulated Marx's thoughts and drove them in a definite direction. He studied, if one can say so, the sources of the Marxist philosophy, what and how precisely Marx took from this or that writer. He was specially concerned in making a deep study of the method of dialectical materialism.

In 1922, in the article "The Significance of Militant Materialism" Lenin said that it was up to the contributors to the periodical *Under the Banner of Marxism* to organize the work for systematic study of Hegel's dialectics from the materialist point of view. He believed that without a serious philosophical basis it is impossible to hold out in the struggle against the pressure of bourgeois ideas and re-establishment of a bourgeois world conception. It was on the basis of his own experience that Lenin wrote about the manner of studying Hegel's dialectis from the materialist point of view. We give here the corresponding paragraph from Lenin's article "The Significance of Militant Materialism."

> "We must understand that without a solid philosophical basis no natural sciences, no materialism are able to struggle successfully against the pressure of bourgeois ideas and the re-establishment of the bourgeois world conception. To be up to this struggle, and to carry it successfully to the end, the natural scientist must be a contemporary materialist, a conscious follower of the materialism represented by Marx, i.e., he must be a dialectical materialist. To attain this aim, the contributors to the periodical *Under the Banner of Marxism* must organize a systematic study of Hegel's dialectics from the materialistic point of view, i.e., the dialectics

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applied in a practical manner by Marx in his *Capital* and in his historical and political works. . . . "

"Basing ourselves on the manner in which Marx applied the materialistically interpreted dialectic of Hegel, we can and must elaborate this dialectic from all sides, publish in the periodical excerpts from Hegel's chief works, explain them materialistically, with illustrations of the application of dialectic in Marx's works, and also by using examples of dialectic in the sphere of economic and political relations, such as are very plentifully provided by recent history, especially by the present imperialist war and revolution. In my opinion, the group of editors and contributors of the periodical *Under the Banner of Marxism* must be a kind of 'society of materialistic friends of Hegelian dialectic.' Contemporary students of natural science will find (provided they will know how to look for it, and if we learn to help them) in the materialistically interpreted dialectic of Hegel a series of answers to the philosophical questions raised by the revolution with regard to natural science, questions which lead astray into reaction the intellectual admirers of the bourgeois fashion." (Volume XXVII.)

The IX and XII volumes of Lenin's collected works have already been published. They divulge the whole process of Lenin's thought when he was working through Hegel's chief works, they show how he applied the method of dialectical materialism to the study of Hegel, how closely he connected this study with a deep study of Marx's sayings, with the ability of converting Marxism into guidance to action in the most varied circumstances.

But Hegel was not the only object of Lenin's study. He read Marx's letter to Engels of February 1, 1859, in which he criticizes severely Lassalle's book *The Philosophy of Heraclitus the Dark of Ephesus* (two volumes), he calls this work "amateurish." Lenin gives to begin with a brief formulation of Marx's criticism.

"Lassalle simply repeats Hegel, he describes him, ruminates millions of times certain sayings of Heraclitus, embellishing his work with a surfeit of most learned Gellertian ballast."

But nevertheless Lenin plunges into the study of this work of Lassalle, makes conspects and extracts of it, writes notes to them, and sums it up thus:

"Marx's criticism is on the whole correct. It is not worth while to read Lassalle's book."

But the work over this book gave Lenin himself a deeper understanding of Marx: he understood why this book of Lassalle displeased Marx to such an extent.

In conclusion, I will mention one more form of Lenin's work over Marx—popularization of Marx's teachings. If the popularizer takes his work "seriously," if his aim is to give in a very simple and intelligible form an explanation of the very essence of this or

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that theory, this work will give very much to himself. Lenin treated this work very seriously indeed. "There is nothing I would like so much as being able to write for the workers," he wrote from exile to Plekhanov and Axelrod.

He wanted to explain and bring near to the masses the teachings of Marx. In the 90's, when he worked in workers' circles, he endeavored to explain to them first of all the first volume of *Capital*, and illustrated the propositions brought forward there by example from the life of his hearers. In 1911, in the Party school in Lonjumeau (near Paris) where Lenin was working hard for the preparation of cadres of leaders for the growing revolutionary movement, he lectured to the workers on political economy, and tried to bring home to them as simply as possible the foundations of Marx's teachings. In his articles to *Pravda* Lenin tried to popularize various points from Marx's teachings. A sample of Leninist popularization is his characterization during the discussion on trade unions in 1921 regarding the manner of studying the subject with the application of the dialectical method. Lenin said:

> "To know the subject thoroughly, one must take hold of and study all its sides, all the contacts and its proper place in the given situation. We shall never fully attain this, but the demand of many-sidedness will make us steer clear of errors and inertia. This comes first. Secondly, dialectical logic demands that the subject be taken in its development, in its 'self-motion' (as Hegel says) and its changes. Thirdly, human practice must concentrate on full 'definition' of the subject, as a criterion of truth, as well as a practical indicator of the connection of the subject with what man needs. Fourthly, dialectical logic teaches us that 'There is no abstract truth, that truth is always concrete,' as the late Plekhanov, who was a follower of Hegel, liked to say."

These few lines are the quintessence of what Lenin elaborated as a result of long years of work over philosophical questions, in which he always made use of the method of dialectical materialism, "consulting" all the time Marx. In a compressed form, these lines indicate all that is essential, that must be guidance to action while studying phenomena.

The way in which Lenin worked over Marx is a lesson to us on how to study Lenin himself. His teaching is inseparably connected with the teaching of Marx, it is Marxism in action, it is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

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Some Figures on the Crisis

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE purpose of the tables which follow is to give some picture of the economic status of the United States as it enters the fifth winter of the crisis. It is extremely difficult from the capitalist statistical sources available to make a very exact and up-to-date appraisal of the depth and extent of the economic crisis. In the first place, one must make a choice among the many indexes prepared by the capitalists and their government. The figures vary greatly in completeness, timeliness and reliability.

The recent controversy between the statisticians of the Federal Reserve Board and the N.R.A. authorities, as to the nature and extent of the current "recovery", illustrates the diversity among the various "official" indexes. From among these often contradictory figures, the outsider is forced to choose the ones that seem to measure most accurately the status and drift of the crisis in any given month. It should also be noted that most of the indexes we present are one or two months out of date. Government bureaus give them out late. We are forced to use them still later.

It is with these difficulties in mind that John Irving and Phil Mayer of the Labor Research Association have tackled the job of selecting and reducing to a common base the most representative indexes, which tend to show the course of the crisis. These tables will be useful chiefly for reference purposes and will be especially valuable to those comrades who have not the time to dig them out of their somewhat scattered original sources. A somewhat similar arrangement of indexes, which appears monthly in *Labour Research*, organ of the Labour Research Department of London, has proved of great value to the British movement. The tables herewith are an experiment which we hope may prove of equal value to the comrades in the United States.

The indexes are presented in a series of tables which, if one reads the footnotes carefully, are self-explanatory. But in reading them, care should be taken to note the *month* which a given index covers. For not all of them appears at the same time, and *The Communist* often goes to press before all the indexes become available for the latest month.

The chief feature of these tables is that they give not only a comparison with the preceding month of the current year and with the corresponding month last year, but also with the high-

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est and lowest points reached in the corresponding month of previous years. The reader can thus see at a glance the economic position in a given field compared with a year ago, and with the highest and lowest points reached in corresponding months of earlier years.

We welcome criticism of these tables and suggestions as to how they might be made more useful. The reaction of our readers will determine greatly whether we shall continue them in the future. Hereafter we plan to include some interpretive comment that will help the reader to see more clearly the trends shown in the tables.

TABLE 1—PRODUCTION[1]

THE FIELD	Sept.	MONTH OF OCTOBER					
				Highest		Lowest	
	1933	1933	1932	Index	Date	Index	Date
Combined Index	76.9	72.9	65.4	113.4	1929	65.4	1932
Steel Ingot Production..	62.9	54.9	29.2	131.3	1928	29.2	1932
Pig Iron Production ...	54.7	45.0	22.7	130.9	1929	22.7	1932
Automobile Production..	55.8	51.3	17.5	139.4	1925	17.5	1932
Lumber Production	56.7	56.7	39.3	140.5	1929	39.3	1932
Cement Production	34.4	31.5	52.3	126.1	1927	31.5	1933
Cotton Consumption ...	97.6	90.4	92.4	116.7	(1927+ 1929)	79.0	1930

[1] The New York *Times* Annalist Index of Business Activity. "Normal," that is, the computed long-time trend, with the seasonal variations eliminated, equals 100%. The indexes given here should be thought of as percentages of this "normal". The "highest" and "lowest" indexes are those recorded for this month since January, 1919, except for Lumber and Cement which date from January, 1920.

TABLE 2—CONSUMPTION[1]

THE FIELD	Aug.	MONTH OF SEPTEMBER					
				Highest		Lowest	
	1933	1933	1932	Index	Date	Index	Date
Department Store Sales[2].	77	70	68	114	1929	68	1932
Chain Store Sales[3]	84	85	83	(1)	....	(1)	....
Mail Order and Store Sales (million dollars) ...	40.3	43.2	39.2	63.1	1929	21.2	1921
Exports, including re-exports (million dollars)	131.4	160.0	132.0	604.7	1920	132.0	1932
Imports (million dollars)	155.0	146.7	98.4	435.4	1919	98.4	1932

[1] Compiled by U. S. Department of Commerce. "Highest" and "lowest" figures are those recorded for this month since January, 1919, except for Chain Stores for which there are no comparable data prior to January, 1932.
[2] 1923-25 average = 100. [3] Average same month 1929-31 = 100.

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TABLE 3—EMPLOYMENT[1]

THE FIELD	Sept. 1933	MONTH OF OCTOBER					
		1933	1932	Highest Index	Highest Date	Lowest Index	Lowest Date
A. *Manufacturing Industries* (1926=100)[1]							
General Index	73.9	74.0	59.9	108.1	1923	59.9	1932
1. Food, Kindred Prod.	100.1	103.7	87.1	119.3	1923	87.1	1932
2. Textiles and their Products	88.5	87.9	74.7	112.0	1923	74.7	1932
3. Iron, Steel and their Prod., not inc. Mach.	74.8	73.2	53.1	108.9	1923	53.1	1932
4. Machinery, not inc. Transportation Eq.	61.7	64.0	45.6	(2)	....	...	....
5. Non-ferrous Metals and their Products	71.8	73.0	54.0	100.8	1925	54.0	1932
6. Transportation Equip.	61.8	56.9	39.5	(2)	....	...	....
7. Railroad Rep. Shops	51.1	51.0	48.6	(2)	....	...	....
8. Lumber and All. Pr.	51.1	51.8	39.0	111.5	1923	39.0	1932
9. Stone, Clay and Glass Products	52.9	51.7	44.6	102.7	1926	44.6	1932
10. Leather and its Manufactures	85.7	84.1	78.1	108.0	1923	78.1	1932
11. Paper and Printing	88.7	90.5	80.2	103.1	1929	80.2	1932
12. Chemicals and Allied Products	95.9	98.7	75.5	102.9	1929	75.5	1932
13. Rubber Products	89.4	89.1	63.9	(2)	....	...	....
14. Tobacco Products	69.1	72.3	73.9	117.1	1923	72.3	1933
Gen. Index (1929=100)[3]	76.1	76.2	61.7	111.3	1923	61.7	1932
B. *Non-Mfg. Industries* (1929=100)[1]							
1. Anthracite Mining	56.8	56.9	63.9	106.1	1929	56.9	1933
2. Bituminous Mining	71.8	68.0	67.0	98.8	1929	67.0	1932
3. Retail Trade	86.0	89.6	81.3	101.7	1929	81.3	1932
4. Steam Railroads (1926=100)[1]	57.7	...	57.0	107.3	1923	57.0	1932

[1] Compiled by U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, except Steam Railroads, which is compiled by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The indexes of the Manufacturing Industries prior to January, 1932, are not strictly comparable with those after January, 1932, because of the shifts in individual industries which from time to time are occasioned by withdrawals of non-active and additions of substitutions. "Highest" and "lowest" for Manufacturing Industries are those recorded for this month since January, 1923; for Non-Manufacturing Industries, since January, 1929, except Steam Railroads, since 1923.

[2] No comparable figures prior to January, 1932.

[3] Converted from 1926=100 to 1929=100.

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TABLE 4—PAYROLLS[1]

THE FIELD	Sept. 1933	MONTH OF OCTOBER					
		1933	1932	Highest—Index	Highest—Date	Lowest—Index	Lowest—Date
A. *Manufacturing Industries* (1926=100)[1]							
General Index	53.3	53.6	39.9	106.8	1923	39.9	1932
1. Food and Kindred Products	80.1	81.7	69.7	113.4	1923	69.7	1932
2. Textiles and their Products	68.9	67.7	52.1	114.9	1923	52.1	1932
3. Iron, Steel and their Products, not including machinery	47.1	47.3	26.6	107.3	1923	26.6	1932
4. Machinery, not including Transportation Equipment ..	40.8	43.6	27.1	(1)	....	...	....
5. Non-ferrous Metals and their Products	49.0	51.4	37.0	104.6	1928	37.0	1932
6. Transportation Equipment	46.0	41.2	24.7	(1)	....	...	....
7. Railroad Repair Shops	41.4	44.7	36.2	(1)	....	...	....
8. Lumber and Allied Products	32.7	33.2	22.2	107.9	1923	22.2	1932
9. Stone, Clay and Glass Products ...	32.5	32.8	27.5	104.5	1926	27.5	1932
10. Leather and its Manufactures ...	66.4	62.0	53.1	110.0	1923	53.1	1932
11. Paper and Printing	69.3	70.6	66.7	109.1	1929	66.7	1932
12. Chemicals & Allied Products	74.2	77.8	60.9	106.9	1929	60.9	1932
13. Rubber Products .	61.6	62.8	41.1	(2)	....	...	....
14. Tobacco Products	55.6	59.0	55.8	118.6	1923	55.8	1932
General Index (1929=100)[1]	53.1	53.4	38.7	106.4	1923	38.7	1932
B. *Non-Manufacturing Industries.* (1929=100)[1]							
1. Anthracite Mining	60.7	61.6	66.7	133.9	1929	61.6	1933
2. Bituminous Mining	44.1	44.1	37.8	106.8	1929	37.8	1932
3. Retail Trade	69.2	72.3	67.1	102.6	1929	67.1	1932
4. Steam Railroads (in mill. dollars)[1]	123.9	...	125.5	271.0	1923	125.5	1932

[1] See footnote for Employment, Table 3, above.

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TABLE 5—COMMODITY PRICES[1]

THE FIELD	Sept. 1933	MONTH OF OCTOBER					
		1933	1932	—Highest— Index	Date	—Lowest— Index	Date
Wholesale Prices (1926=100)							
All (784 Commodities)	70.8	71.2	64.4	144.2	1920	64.4	1932
Farm Products	57.0	55.7	46.9	152.8	1919	46.9	1932
Foods	64.9	64.2	60.5	128.8	1919	60.5	1932
Other than Farm and Food Products	76.1	77.2	70.2	158.0	1920	70.2	1932
Retail Prices (1926=100)[2]							
Foods	66.3	66.3	62.0	122.0	1920	62.0	1932

[1] Compiled by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. "Highest" and "lowest" figures are those recorded for this month since January, 1919.

[2] Converted from 1913=100 to 1926=100.

TABLE 6—COST OF LIVING and FACTORY EARNINGS[1]

THE FIELD	Aug. 1933	MONTH OF SEPTEMBER					
		1933	1932	—Highest— Index	Date	—Lowest— Index	Date
Cost of Living (1926=100)[2]	73.8	74.8	73.5	115.1	1920	73.5	1932
Factory, Average Weekly Earnings: All Wage Earners (dollars)	19.25	19.46	16.23	28.89	1929	16.23	1932
Factory, Average Hourly Earnings: All Wage Earners (dollars)	.50	.53	.48	.59	1929	.48	1932

[1] Compiled by National Industrial Conference Board. "Highest" and "lowest" for Cost of Living since 1920; for Average Weekly Earnings since 1927; for Average Hourly Earnings since 1926.

[2] Converted from 1923=100 to 1926=100.

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TABLE 7—DOMESTIC COMMODITY STOCKS ON HAND[1]
(1923-1925=100)

THE FIELD	Aug. 1933	MONTH OF OCTOBER					
		1933	1932	Highest Index	Highest Date	Lowest Index	Lowest Date
All	142	...	143	145	1930	78.7	1920
Manufactures	108	...	100	119	1930	74.8	1920
Food Products	126	120.0	84	127	1929	81	1931
Iron and Steel	99	100.0	91	145	1930	51.5	1920
Textiles[2]	123	141.0	74	141.0	1933	74	1932
Department Store Stocks	64	70	60	113	1920	60	1932
Raw Materials	166	...	173	173	1932	80.1	1920
Foodstuffs	213	212.0	180	222	1929	78.5	1920
Metals	103	113.0	122	152	1931	94	1926
Textile Materials[2]	174	...	217	217	1932	76	1924

[1] Compiled by U. S. Department of Commerce, except for Department Store Stocks, which are compiled by the Federal Reserve Board. "Highest" and "lowest" indexes are those recorded for this month since January, 1919, unless otherwise noted.

[2] "Highest" and "lowest" for this month for Textile Manufactures since January, 1931; for Textile Raw Materials since January, 1920.

TABLE 8—WORLD COMMODITY STOCKS ON HAND[1]
(1923-1925=100)

THE FIELD	Aug. 1933	MONTH OF SEPTEMBER					
		1933	1932	Highest Index	Highest Date	Lowest Index	Lowest Date
All	...	...	262	262	1932	93	1924
Coffee	330	...	428	447	1931	80	1923
Cotton	253	242.0	244	244	1932	88	1923
Rubber[2]	342	342.0	325	342	1933	67	1925
Silk[2]	...	...	204	228	1931	94	1925
Sugar[2]	294	...	311	376	1931	69	1924
Tea	151	148.0	136	148	1933	89	1923
Tin	161	145.0	229	243	1931	69	1926
Wheat	233	...	198	225	1930	74	1920

[1] Compiled by U. S. Department of Commerce. "Highest" and "lowest" indexes are those recorded for this month since January, 1920, unless otherwise noted.

[2] "Highest" and "lowest" for Rubber since January, 1924; for Silk, since January, 1925; for Sugar, since January, 1922.

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